

A highly detailed, black and white ornate border surrounds the central text. The border features intricate carvings, including floral motifs, scrolls, and a central arched pediment at the top. The overall style is reminiscent of traditional Indian or classical architectural ornamentation.

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THE
Spirit of Buddhism

REDISCOVERING INDIA

THE SPIRIT OF BUDDHISM

**Being an Examination-Analytical
Explanatory and Critical**

GOUR H.S.

Vol. 17 (i)



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PREFACE

This work calls for a word of explanation. Its subject has given rise to a voluminous literature in all the principal European languages. But all these works have been written by European scholars. It appeared to the present writer that there might still be room for a work compiled by one who, though not an orientalist, had yet lived in a system out of which Buddhism had grown and who, by reason of his remote kinship with the Great Master, might perhaps possess a mentality which may give him in some small degree an advantage denied to alien writers, brought up under a different system and possessing a mentality, which has to be trained to the receptivity of ideas and the appreciation of a doctrine, the elements of which are familiar to all Hindus, and the depth of which can perhaps be more easily sounded by those to whose forefathers the doctrine was at first preached and who, by their love and devotion to their great compatriot and kinsman, are not likely to forget easily its true meaning and significance.

India is perhaps the most conservative country in the world. It tenaciously clings to the old, and if Lord Buddha were to rise again and revisit the scenes of his earthly mission, he would probably see but a few changes in the life and mentality of the people; and if he went far inland, into places not yet penetrated by the Railways, he would recognize, even in the costumes of the people, those to whom he had spoken in his previous birth. The spell of the unchanging East may be inimical to material progress, but it furnishes a ready material for the exercise of the imagination, the reconstruction of a scene and reproduction of the environment, which offer the best background for the right appreciation of the drama which portrayed the hollowness of human life, and unselfishness as its only panacea. Stated as a copy-book maxim, this moral would be regarded as trivial because of its universal truism. But the virtue of a maxim is not so much in its statement as in its elucidation bringing home conviction. Again, in metaphysical

dialectics, the teacher addresses his words to those in whom he presumes a certain degree of acquaintance with the main tenets of the ruling creed. He reinforces his arguments and refutes those of his adversaries, assuming on the part of his hearers the counter-arguments he refutes and the outline of the view he elucidates.

To the foreigner these dialectics present difficulties which the Hindu cannot understand. That they do present difficulties even to European savants, may be concluded from what they have themselves admitted: "The meaning which he conveyed by such words we can often only approximately determine. Here, as in every case, where the word has a preponderant importance over the thought, where it does not smoothly fit the thought, but compresses it within its own straight form, the inquirer, who desires to reconstruct remote and foreign forms of thought has not that surest key which consecutive progression, the inherent necessity of the thought, can give him."⁽¹⁾ "When we try to resuscitate, in our own way and in our own language, the thoughts that are embedded in the Buddhist teaching, we can scarcely help forming the impression that it was not a mere idle statement which the sacred texts preserve to us, that the Perfect One knew much more (which He thought inadvisable to say), than what he esteemed it profitable to his disciples to unfold. For, that which is declared points for its explanation and completion to something else, which is passed over in silence—for it seemed not to serve for quietude, illumination, the Nirvan—but of which we can scarcely help believing that it was really present in the minds of Buddha and those disciples to whom we owe the compilation of the dogmatic texts."⁽²⁾ As to this, it is sufficient to state that the Perfect One never affected any mental reservation. On the other hand, on the eve of his death, he made it plain that he had kept back nothing that he knew, from his advanced disciples: "What need hath the body of my followers of me now, Anand? I have declared the Doctrine, Anand, and I have made no distinction between within and without; the Perfect

(1) Oldenberg's *Buddha*, p. 207.

(2) *Ib.* p. 208.

One has not, Anand, been a forgetful teacher of the Doctrine.”⁽¹⁾

That is then conclusive of the mentality of the Teacher. The difficulties experienced by western scholars in understanding Buddhism, arise from the fact that they regard it as a religion or a philosophy apart, whereas it is only a new commentary on an old system—a new graft on an old trunk which cannot be learnt or understood apart.

Again, since the dialogues were in many cases intended to answer queries or allay doubts, they are necessarily disjointed and discursive, and in places contradictory.

It seemed, then, to the present writer that the method he had himself followed in studying the subject, might be usefully employed in elucidating it to others. He has consequently followed the purely historical method; but in expounding the tenets of the new religion, he has attempted to summarize the then prevailing views of life and then given Buddh's comments and criticisms upon them—often assumed or implied, or at most faintly hinted at by a passing insinuation or an innuendo, which were sufficiently and in fact pungently clear to those who sat at his feet, and which are clear enough to those who have to live in the system to which Buddh's frequent allusions unerringly refer.

A work following this method must necessarily be a singular departure from the beaten track hallowed by the tread of a century of Orientalists and European expounders of oriental thought. It is intended to give a plain and impartial version of the life and doctrine of Buddh, a life which is an example of all that is best in mankind, and a doctrine which has leavened all religious teachings since. The writer cannot be accused of undue partiality to Buddhism; for, though he is a humble member of the caste upon which Gautam has shed imperishable lustre, he has not yet persuaded himself to accept his creed; and he has, therefore, not refrained from criticising wherever he felt it his duty to caution or criticize.

(1) Oldenberg's *Buddha*, pp. 197, 198.

The work is intended to be a popular, but withal a critical study of Buddhism. The narrative is intended for the lay reader, while the notes furnish a groundwork for the scholar who wishes to systematize his knowledge of a religion, which, more than a religion, has moulded the lives of nearly a third of the inhabitants of the globe.

A word is necessary to explain the new style of spelling adopted in this work. European writers have adopted a form of spelling which is neither natural nor phonetic since, some of them use either the letter *c* or *k* to convey the sound "ch" as in "church", while others adopt other spellings. The ultimate "a" added to "Buddh" and other names of places and persons is intended to be silent; but in practice the reader seldom heeds the warning. Other words such as "Ashoke" and "Jaatak" are spelt as "Asoka" or "Jataka"—which gives rise to varied pronunciations except the right one. In this work all spellings of such words have, so far as possible, followed their phonetic sounds.

But the Roman Alphabet is conspicuously deficient in two dental alphabets for which it provides no serviceable substitutes: These are the Pali π and ṭ . Two new letters **T** (*t*) and **Ḍ** (*ḍ*) have been invented to express those sounds. The cross line in each case indicates that the letter is dental and not palatal. Thus **T** will take the place of π , and **Ḍ** of ṭ and will sound as *Th* in *Thus*.

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CHRONOLOGY

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Events in Buddhism.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Other contemporary events.</i>
B. C.		B. C.	
622	Buddh born in Lambini Garden, 27 miles N. E. of Kapilvastu.	600	Lao-Tza born.
593	The enlightenment (Buddh aged 29).	589	Zoroaster born (d. 539).
582	Bimveshwar, King of Magadh, contemporary of Buddh and Mahavir, becomes their patron.	587	Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, takes Jerusalem: Jews exiled to Babylon.
554	Ajatshatru, son of Bimveshwar, conquered Visali and Koushal; supports both Buddh and Mahavir.	551	Confucius born (d. 478).
543	Death of Buddh.	538	The Persians capture Babylon. Jews return but remain under Persia. (587-320).
543	First Buddhist Council.		Darius I, King of Persia (521 B.C.) conquers the Punjab.
...	...	516	Inscription of Darius I mentioning India and Gandhar among his provinces.
...	...	490	Battle of Marathon between Persia and Greece—Persians routed.
...	...	480	Xerxes' second expedition against Greece.
443	Second Buddhist Council.	469	Socrates born (d. 399).
...	...	429	Plato born (d. 347).
...	...	384	Aristotle born (d. 322).
...	...	338	Philip of Macedonia defeats Thebes and Athens and annexes Greece.

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Events in Buddhism.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Other contemporary events.</i>
B. C.		B. C.	
...	...	332	Alexander takes Palestine.
...	...	331	Alexander crushes Persia.
327-5	Alexander's Invasion of India.	...	...
323	Death of Alexander at Babylon (in May or June.)	...	...
322	Expulsion of the Macedonian garrison by Chandragupta Maurya.	321	Alexander destroyed Persian Empire and assigned Babylon to Seleucus Nikator.
321	His accession.	...	...
302	Embassy of Megasthenes to Chandragupta at Patna.	...	...
273	Accession of Ashoke.	...	...
269	His Coronation.	...	...
259	Abolished the Imperial Hunt—sent Missionaries.	...	...
257-6	The fourteen rock edicts.	...	...
251-250	Mahendra's Mission to Ceylon.	...	...
244	"Hinyan" or Canon of the Southern Buddhists settled.	...	...
242	Publication of the seven pillar edicts.	...	...
240-232	Third Buddhist Council: Minor pillar edicts condemning schism.	...	...
232 } 222 }	or Ashoke died at Taxilla.	63	Rome takes Jerusalem.
40 A.D.	Fourth and last Buddhist Council under King Kanishka.	...	...

GLOSSARY

<i>English.</i>	<i>Meaning.</i>
Abhidharma—अभिधर्म	... <i>Abhi</i> —further, beyond, <i>Dharm</i> —law, “further law;” a commentary on the Canon.
Advait—अद्वैत	... <i>A</i> —not, <i>Dvait</i> —second, “no second” element. “Absolute monism”.
Ajīva—अजित	... <i>Keshkambali</i> , a sect of Nihilists, who believed in no life but this, and maintained it to be devoid of reality. They denied the result of good or evil deeds and, of course, <i>Karm</i> and its effect upon the course of human life, Founder of Nihilism.
Ajivak—अजोवक	... <i>Nakhali Goshal</i> was the leader of Ajivak and was Buddha's contemporary.
Anesaki—अनेकजी	... “Buddhist Art” in relation to Buddhist ideals, with special reference to Buddhism in Japan. (Murray—1916 pp 73 plates).
Arhat—अर्हत्	... <i>Arhi</i> —a “carnet” extremely deserving, very reverend; a term applied to advanced Bhikshus.
Arya—आर्य	... <i>Arya</i> —worthy of reverence, a term applied to the Buddhists.
Aryan—आर्यन	... “ <i>Arya</i> ”—Aryan race; a term opposed to alien.
Ashwamedh—अश्वमेध	... <i>Ashwa</i> —horse, <i>Medh</i> —sacrifice, “horse-sacrifice,” performed by Purushmitra.
Asay—आसव	... <i>Asaya</i> —depravity (of 4 kinds). <i>Kamasaya</i> —means desire, attachment, pleasure and thirst associated with the senses. <i>Bhavasaya</i> —means desire, attachment.
Atta—अत्ता	... (<i>Pali-Attu</i> , soul), “I” “self.” Hence “The Ego”—the soul.

English.	Meaning.
Avijja—	... (Sk. <i>Avidya</i> —Ignorance), “absence of <i>Viḍya</i> or knowledge.”
Avalokiteśvar—अवलोकितेश्वर ...	<i>Ava</i> ,—favourably, kindly ; <i>Lokit</i> —looking, <i>Iśvar</i> —God; a god who looks kindly. A new God created by the Order. God looking upon men with pity; corresponds to the Hindu <i>Shiv</i> ; in China—kwoṇ-she-yen.
Bhikṣu—भिक्षु ...	(Sk. <i>Bhikṣ</i> —to beg, Pali- <i>Bhikṣu</i>) ; <i>Bhikṣa</i> —“ alms ; ” “ <i>Bhikṣu</i> ”—a beggar. A Buddhist mendicant ; so called because he begs instruction for the mind, and food for the body.
Buddh—बुद्ध ...	(Sk. <i>Buddh</i> —to know and <i>Buddh</i> —known. Pali— <i>Bodh</i> —Knowledge). Hence “ <i>Buddh</i> ”—“ One who has acquired knowledge,” “ The wise,” “ The Enlightened,”

But per Childers' *Pali Dictionary* the word is derived from *Vaddhati* and means “old”, “aged” and hence “Enlightened.” The term now refers to Gautam Buddh founder of Buddhism, according to which there have been 24 Buddhs who preceded Gautam, after whom only one Buddh the “*Metteyya Buddh* (*मैत्रेय* i.e., “Friendly Buddh”) is to come. The preceding 24 Buddhs were: (1) *Dipankar*. (दीपकर) (2) *Kondaṇṇo* (कण्डन) (3) *Mangal* (मंगल) (4) *Sumane* (सुमन) (5) *Revata* (रेतन) (6) *Subhite* (सुभीत) (7) *Anomadati* (आनन्ददीपति) (8) *Paḍume* (पडुम) (9) *Naraḍi* (नारद) (10) *Paḍumittar* (पडुमितर) (11) *Sumedi* (सुमेध) (12) *Sujat* (सुजात) (13) *Piyadasi* (पिपदासी) (14) *Atthadasi* (अष्टदसी) (15) *Dhammadasi* (धम्मदसी) (16) *Siddharth* (सिद्धार्थ) (17) *Fisse* (फिस्स) (18) *Phusse* (फोस्स) (19) (*Vipasi*) (विपासी) (20) *Sikhi* (सिखी)

English.

Meaning.

(21) Vesabha (विषभः) (22) Kakusanḍhe (ककुसन्धः) (23) Koṇḍagamano (कण्डगमन) (24) Kashyap (काश्यप)—(Mahavans XXXII-1-2; *Dhammapaṭi* (Ed. V. Fausboll Copenhagen 1855) 116, 117; Burnouf (P.E.) *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi* (Paris 1852) 335.

Bimveshwar—बिम्बेश्वर

... Name of the King of Magadh; a contemporary of Buddha called in Pali Bimbisara.

Sk. *Bimb.*—Disc of the Sun or Moon, *Ishwar* "The Lord," *Lit.* "Lord of the Sun"; "The Sun-god."

Bodhisattva—बोधिसत्त्व

... *Bodhi*—knowledge and *Sattva*—in embryo. A *Bodhisattva* is one in whom true knowledge is rather latent and undeveloped. Buddha had been a *Bodhisattva* in his immediate previous birth.

Chaitya—चैत्य

... Sk. *chi*—to heap; *chita*—a tumulus, a sepulchral monument, cairn; later, used to denote an Assembly-Hall of the Buddhist order in which the image of Buddha was worshipped.

Chakravarti—चक्रवर्ती

... (*Chakra*—wheel, *varti*—ruler) *Lit.* "Wheel King," a monarch who rules all within the Chakra of rocks supposed to surround the world; hence "Universal monarch" (Beal's *Catena*—128). But *Chakra* equally means "the globe" and the word would then bear the same meaning.

Charvak—चार्वाक

... (*Charv*—"to chew"), Charvak is the reputed founder of the Epicurean system of Indian atheists who do not believe in God, Soul, or Hereafter. The Charvaks were subdivided into two sub-sects—the *Sushikshipt* and the *Dhurt*; the former believe in the existence of the soul, which, however, perished with the body; the latter deny its existence and only

English.	Meaning.
	believe in the existence of 4 elements, namely, earth, water, air and fire, and that the body is the result of atomic combination.
Dhamma —धम्म	... (<i>Dharm</i> —Duty) Bears a varying meaning in Buddhist literature. Generally speaking, it means religion or duty of a Buddhist. But it is also used in other senses in e.g., scriptural texts as embodying the religion; quality of man (<i>guna</i>); cause (<i>hetu</i>); and the unsubstantial and soul-less entity.
Dhammapad —धम्मपद	... (<i>Dhamma</i> —religion; and <i>Pad</i> —feet), foot-steps), "footsteps of religion."
Dhyan —ध्यान	... Abstract meditation.
Ḍigha Nikaya —दीर्घ निकायः	... (Sk. <i>Ḍirgh</i> —major, large; <i>Nikaya</i> —collection, body) the Bible, "Dialogues of the Buddha" 2 S.B.E. (3 Sorts).
Dulva —दुल्ल	... Tibetan Vinay or Canon included in Bkash-Hgyur.
Fa-Hian —फा हियन	... See Beal.
Gridhrakut Parvat गृध्रकूट पर्वत	... (Sk. <i>Gridhra</i> —vulture, <i>Kut</i> —peak, <i>Parvat</i> —Mountain), "Vulture's peak" where Buddha often resided—a hill near Raj-graha.
Hina Varga —हीनवर्ग	... Corresponding Hin-Vagg. (<i>Hin</i> —small, <i>Varg</i> —sections). Smallest sections.
Kapilvastu —कपिलवास्तु	... Modern Bhila, a town half-way between Basti and Ajudhya.
Karm —कर्म	... (Pali— <i>Karm</i> "Fate."). The law of moral rectitude, a soul's path through the world of earthly scene, of heaven and hell.
Kashyap —कश्यप	... (<i>Kashyap</i>) (Sk. <i>Kashya</i> —liquor, and <i>pa</i> —to drink); drinker of liquor; Kashyap is the name of a sage
Katantak Venuban कान्तक वनपत्र	(Bamboo-grove of Katantak).
Khand —खण्ड	... <i>Khand</i> —a division. a part, "group or groups.

English.

Meaning.

Khanda—खण्ड

... (Sk. *Skandh*—the trunk of a tree), means group or aggregate. The *Khandas* are aggregates of bodily and physical states and are divided into five classes (1) *Rupa* (form; e.g. body; the five senses) (2) *Vedana* (sensation of pleasurable and painful feeling); (3) *Sanka* (Conceptual knowledge, (4) *Sankhar* (compound synthesis or aggregate of concepts and feelings), (5) *Vigyan* (consciousness)—*Samvutta Nikaya* III 86-*seq.*

Khuddakpath—खुद्दकपथ

... (*Khuddak*—small, *Path*—readings) less one study, lesser studyings.

Mahasthavira—महास्त्वारि

... (Sk. *Mahat*—great; *Sthavir*—senior); (Pali *Maha-thera*); the great elders.

Mahavajja—महावज्जा

... (Sk. *Vach*—to speak, Pali *vajja*—sayings); Mahavajja—Great teachings.

Mahavarga—महावर्ग

... (Pali-Mahavagga); (Sk. *Maha*, big, great; *Varga*, sections, divisions, chapters); great sections.

Mahayan—महायान

... (*Maha*—big, *Ya*—to go, Lit. "that by which, on which or in which one goes,") Hence, a road, a path-way. "The great way" or "vehicle" of salvation; as opposed to the *Hinayan*, or "the smallest vehicle."

Manjushri—मञ्जुश्री

... (*Manju*—beautiful, lovely; *Shri*,—God); "The beautiful God," the name of a Bodhisattva in the Buddhist Trinity.

Mara—मार

... (Sk. *Maranam*—Death, *Mri*—to die), killing, slaughter, (Lat. *Mors*—death, *Morrior*—to die). Hence death personified, "God of death." Mar is the Satan of Buddhist Mythology.

Nihana—निहान

... See Nirvan.

Nikayas—निकायः

... (*Nikaya*, a heap, a collection of men); a congregation, a body of men.

English.	Meaning.
Nirgaṇth—निर्गन्ध	... (<i>Nir</i> —without; <i>gaṇth</i> —tie); without ties “without encumbrances.” A term applied to Bhikshus.
Nirodḥ—निरोध	... See Nirvan.
Nirvan—निर्वाण	... (<i>Nir</i> —without and <i>van</i> —“desire”): a state of mind without craving or desire; a state of mental bliss, arising from the control of desires. It is synonymous with <i>Nirvṛitti</i> , <i>Nirodḥ</i> (Pali- <i>Nibanna</i> , <i>Nibutti</i> , <i>Nibutta</i>); in the Buddhist Canon used to mean the bliss arising from an immunity from human passions producing a blissful existence free from egocentric life. It is called the Unconditional, the Abstract, the Uncreated, the Infinite, the Eternal, the Formless, the Invisible. When Buddha abandoned his life in the Palace, he said, “I will search for the peace of <i>Nirvan</i> ” (the word he used was <i>Nibutta</i> —which means “happiness.”)
Om—ॐ	... Abbreviation of the initial letters of the Vedic triad;—namely <i>Agni</i> , <i>Indra</i> and <i>Mitra</i> : “A.I.M.”—“Om.” This was originally an invocation to the three great gods of the Vedas. But later on, the word became a mere introductory, auspicious expletion which was pronounced at the beginning of all prayers, sacrifices, etc. They are said to possess mystic value in the Yoge philosophy, being the most potent means whereby human thoughts are concentrated upon the Supreme Being, typified by these symbols.
Paṇḍmapāṇi—पद्मपाणि	... (<i>Paṇḍma</i> —lotus; <i>Pāṇi</i> —hands); “lotus-handed.”
Panna—पद्म	... Wisdom.
Paramitā—पारमिता	... Transcendent, (<i>Lit.</i> that which enables one to cross over to the other shore).

<i>English.</i>	<i>Meaning.</i>
Parinirvan —परिनिर्वाण	... (<i>Pari</i> —absolute, <i>Nirvan</i> —salvation). A salvation in which there is no re-birth.
Parivar —परिवार	... Appendix.
Prabhag —प्रभञ्ज	... (Pali, <i>Prabhag</i> —"going out,") the first initiatory ceremony for conversion of a person to be a pupil, or disciple.
Pratyek Buddh —प्रत्येक बुद्ध	... "Every one," self-dependent, solitary Buddh; "solitary saint."
Prithak Jan —प्रथक् जन	... (<i>Prithvi</i> —earth, <i>Prithak</i> —earthly; <i>Jan</i> —man). A worldly man, as distinguished from an <i>Arya</i> , who was a monk.
Puthu Jan —पुथुजन	... (Sk. <i>Prithvi</i> —"Earth, world;" <i>Jan</i> —men); "many folk," the multitude, the unlearned.
Samaḍhi —समाधि	... Concentration.
Sangit —संगीत	... (Sk. <i>Sam</i> —together; <i>geetam</i> —song); singing together; (Pali <i>Sangit</i> —songs sung together)
Sanskar —संस्कार	... (P. <i>Sankar</i> — <i>Sanskar</i> — <i>Sam</i> —together, <i>Kara</i> "to do," hence, putting together). "The aggregates" or "Impressions" and predispositions inherited from a previous birth. <i>Sanskars</i> are of 3 kinds (1) Those which have a pure end in view; (2) Those which have an impure end in view; (3) Those which are neutral.
Sanskaro —संस्कारो	... See Sanskar.
Shraman —श्रमण	... (<i>Shram</i> —to toil, <i>Shraman</i> —"labourers"; Pali- <i>Shramera</i> , <i>Shrama</i>) a term applied to <i>Bhikkhus</i> .
Shrawak —श्रावक	... (Hearers), great disciples.
Shila —शिला	... Discipline.
Skandhas —स्कन्धः	... See Khandas.
Sutra —सूत्र	... (Sk. <i>Sutra</i> —"a thread"; Pali— <i>Sutra</i>); Aphorism, which is a mnemonic aid to a statement. In the Buddhistic books, it means a discourse, a chapter or a

English.

Meaning.

small portion of a sacred book dealing with a point of sacred law.

Sūtras are the words of Buddha addressed to his disciples.

Sāviri—सविर

... (there) "elder"

Tapas—तपस्

... Bodily mortification.

Tathagata—तथागत

... *Lit.* "One who goes the way of all flesh," i.e., "One who is subject to death," mortal; it was afterwards applied to Buddha as meaning "the Being *par excellence*, the Great Being," just in the same way as Jesus was described as "the Son of man." But since "*agata*" means also "come," latterly the term is explained by the devout to mean "One who has come the same way" i.e., "he who has come here following the law." But as Childers remarks: "The naive explanations of the term are purely fanciful." Pali Dictionary *Tit Tathagata* 498, 499; Burnouf P. E. Introduction A. L. Histoire de Buddhism-Indian: Paris 1844. 75).

Tripitaks—त्रिपीटकाः

... (Sk. *Tri*—three and *Pitak*—basket). *Lit.* "Three Baskets." The Buddhist sacred scriptures; so called, because they are divided into three parts namely; (1) *Vinai Suttas* (dealing with Discipline), (2) *Sutta*—Sūtra, (which are sayings and aphorisms relating to the Doctrine); and (3) *Abhi Dharm* (*Abhi*—after, and *Dharm*—law: Commentary on the Doctrine). It really deals with Metaphysics. The tripartite classification is only rough, since in point of fact, books on the one basket contain a great deal of what should logically belong to another basket. The "Pitaks" collectively form a Canon of Holy-Writ and, as such, are invested by the Buddhists

English.

Meaning.

with all the sanctity due to their Holy Scripture, which are believed to contain the actual words of the Master, the text of which was settled at the first council held immediately after Buddha's Nirvan.

- Upasak—उपासक ... (Worshipper) The worshipper of Buddha.
- Upasampadā—उपासम्पद ... The ceremony for admission to full monkhood.
- Upoṣṭh—उपोसथ ... (Sk. *Upasthitum*—a fast); a fast-day.
- Vajrapani—वज्रपाणि ... (*Vajra*—"lightning," "thunderbolt;" *Pani*—hand); "With thunderbolt in his hands."
- Do. ... Vajrapani corresponds to Brahma or Vishwakarma (lord of speech), corresponds also to Sarasvatī.
- Varṣa—वर्षा ... (Sk. *Varṣa*; Pali *Vassa*) rain; The rainy season, June to October, in which the Bhikkhus met to rest and reflect in one place. Hence, "The Period of Retreat."
- Vijñān—विज्ञान ... Cognition, ("Chitā"—mind or consciousness).
- Vihāra—विहार ... (Sk. *Vihar*—wandering for pleasure). Hence "A pleasure-garden," monastery. (The name of Bihar, a Province of India, is a corruption of *Vihar*, so called because of its numerous monasteries).
- Vinai—विनय ... (*Vinai*—discipline). Buddha's Code of discipline.
- Yoga—योग ... (Sk. *Yuj*,—to join; *Lit.*—union; *Yugam*—yoke). The science which teaches how to join the human spirit with the Universal Soul. The primary aim of every man who practises Yoga is the Mystic union (or rather re-union) of his own spirit with one Eternal Soul or Spirit of the Universe.

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DESCRIPTIVE NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

[This note is drawn by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Shahni, Deputy Director-General of Archaeology with the permission of Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology in India, to whom the author is indebted for the photographs supplied by the Government of India for publication in this book.]

1. A stone Stele (*Urdhva-pata*) showing four principal events of Buddha's life which was found at Sarnath, and is now preserved in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. The four scenes are arranged chronologically from below upwards. The lowest scene represents the birth of the Bodhisattva in the Lumbini garden (modern Rummindei) near Kapilavastu. His mother, Mayadevi, stands in the centre under a *Sala* tree, with her sister, Prajapati, standing behind her. The child is being received by Indra, while in the upper left corner, we see the baby being given his first bath by the Naga Kings, Nanda and Upananda. The next division represents the enlightenment of the Buddha at Bodhi Gaya, near Gaya. In the centre is the Buddha seated in the *Bhumisparsa-mudra* on a stone throne, under a *pipal* tree. To his proper right is the Evil One (Mara) standing, holding his bow. The two female figures to the left of the Buddha are two of the three daughters of Mara (*viz.*, Desire, Pleasure and Lust.) The upper corners of the panel show two of the Rakshasas of Mara's army who attempted in vain to intimidate the Buddha on this occasion. The defeated Satan is shown seated in despair near the right knee of the Buddha. The next upper division of the sculpture represents the first sermon of the Buddha—in the Deer Park (Sanskrit, *Mriga-Dara*), modern Sarnath. The hands of the Buddha are held in front of the breast in the attitude of expounding the law (*Dharma-chakra-mudra*). The figure standing to the right of the Buddha, holding a "Chauri" in his right hand, and a rosary in his left, is the Bodhisattva Maitreya, the Messiah of the Buddhists. The corresponding figure on the other side, holding a full-blown lotus in the left hand, is the Bodhisattva Padmapani or Avalokitesvara. The wheel in front of the base represents the wheel of the law and the two deer, the Deer Park (modern Sarnath). The uppermost panel represents the death or *Parinirvana* of the Master which took place under a grove of *Sala* trees at Kusanagara (modern Kasia, District Gorakhpur). In accordance with the Buddhist texts, the Buddha is represented as lying on his right side, facing to the front. The sculpture dates about from the 5th century A.D. and must have been carved at Sarnath. (Sunk in gold at the back of the cover.)

2. *Wheel of Law* (embossed on front cover.) For explanation see pp. 528-538.

3. Colossal statue of Gautama Buddha as Bodhisattva, which was discovered during the excavations of 1904-05 at Sarnath. By the side of it was lying a large stone umbrella, which originally sheltered it in place of a temple. According to an inscription incised on its base, the statue was carved under the supervision of a Buddhist monk named Bala, who was well-versed in the Tripitaka, and erected at the promenade of the Blessed One at Benares in the third year of the reign of Kanishka. The statue is made of the same kind of red sandstone, as was generally used for the Mathura sculptures, and was carved at Mathura which in the Kushana and Gupta periods supplied images to other holy places of the Buddhists.

The little figure of a lion between the feet of the statue is intended to identify it as a representation of Gautama Buddha who is frequently referred to as Sakya-Simha or the Lion of the Sakya race.

The large stone umbrella which sheltered Friar Bala's statue referred to above together with its post of the same material, was according to two inscriptions engraved at the back of the statue and on the post, also carved under the supervision of the same monk. All these were discovered by Mr. F. O. Oertel of the Public Works Department of the United Provinces who superintended the excavations carried out at Sarnath in the winter of 1904-05, in the area to the south of a large temple, designated as the Main Shrine in the publications of the Archaeological Department. This temple presumably marks the very spot where Gautama Buddha actually sat to deliver his first sermon for which Sarnath has been so famous through the centuries. Originally, however, the statue must have occupied a much lower level than that on which it was discovered.

The umbrella was found broken in ten pieces which have been joined together. As will appear from the photograph, the umbrella assumes the shape of a full-blown lotus flower, in which the central raised portion represents the fruit. Around this is a ring of the petals of that flower and another row of them around the outer rim. The intervening space is taken up by a band of semi-fabulous animals with the heads of a buffalo, a goose, an elephant etc. and a broader ring containing twelve sacred symbols, including the three jewels (*Triratna*), namely, the Buddha, the Sacred Law and the Church, the lucky pair of fish, the vase with foliage, the conch, *Svastika* etc.

4. The Buddhist temple at Bodhi Gaya, as restored in modern times. The temple marks the spot where Gautama Buddha attained spiritual wisdom under a *pipal* tree, a descendant of which is still shown at the back of the temple.

5. A well-preserved sculpture representing Buddha in the act of preaching his First Sermon at Sarnath. The wheel in the middle of the pedestal symbolizes the good doctrine discovered by the Blessed One, and the deer on either side of it, the Deer Park, the ancient name of Sarnath. Of the seven figures carved on both sides of the wheel, the three to the right, together with the two adjoining the wheel on the opposite side, are the five monks, to whom the sacred law was first revealed. The other two figures presumably represent the donors of the statue. The sculpture dates from the Gupta period.

6. A Gandhara sculpture probably representing the reception of the Buddha by the Sakyas. The Buddha is seated in the centre, with the King to the left and the Queen to the right. The concentric bands above also represent the Buddha attended by votaries while a line of Gandharvas appears outside the rope pattern.

7. Stone Stele. This sculpture 4'5" high, and surmounted with a little stupa, which has lost its umbrella (*hti*). The front face of the sculpture is divided into four panels representing the four principal events of the life of Gautama Buddha, i.e., his birth at the Lumbini Garden (modern Rummindei in Nepal), his enlightenment at Bodhi Gaya near Gaya, his first sermon at the Mrigaḍava or Deer Park (modern Sarnath near Benares), and his death (*Parinirvana*) at Kusanagara (modern Kasia, District Gorakhpur). These four places are sacred to the Buddhists and one of the Buddha's last exhortations to his chief disciple Ananda was that his followers should pay regular visits to them. The scene of the Buddha's birth is delineated in the lowest panel where we see his mother, Mayaḍevi, standing under a *sala* tree. To her proper left stood her sister Prajapati (now much defaced) and further to the left the infant Bodhisattva receiving his first bath from two Naga deities Nanda and Upananda. On the other side of Mayaḍevi was carved a figure of Indra or Sakra who received the infant as soon as he was born. The second panel from the bottom represents the temptation of the Bodhisattva at Bodhi Gaya by the Evil One (Mara) corresponding to Kama of the Hindu mythology. The threats and enticements of the Tempter having failed, the sage attained supreme wisdom the same night and thenceforward became known as *Samyak-sambuddha* or truly enlightened. In the relief we see the Master seated in the *bhumisparika-mudra* under a *pipal* tree, with Mara holding his usual bow in his left hand standing to his proper right, and two of Mara's daughters standing to his left. The two uncouth figures in the upper corners of the composition, one brandishing his sword and the other threatening the sage with an upraised finger, are two of the demoniacal followers of the Evil One. The figure standing behind Mara is one of his attendants who holds his crocodile standard (*makara*-

dhvaja), while the one seated in despair in front of him is the Evil One himself after his defeat. The next upper panel represents Buddha seated in the *dharmachakra-mudra* symbolizing his first sermon at Sarnath, which is described in Buddhist texts as the turning of the wheel of the good law or doctrine discovered by the Buddha. This wheel is clearly seen beneath the throne of the Master, the six figures seated on both sides of it being the first five converts (*Panchabhadravargiya*) and an additional figure, possibly meant to represent the donor of the sculpture. The scene at the top of the relief is the great decease of the Buddha, who is lying on his right side in accordance with the texts. The figures seated in front of the couch include one of the *Tridandi* recluse, Subhadra, of Kusanagara, who was the last to embrace the Buddhist faith in the lifetime of the Master. The figure adoring the feet of the Buddha is Mahakasyapa of Rajagriha and those behind the Buddha, human and celestial mourners including the female spirits of the two *sala* trees under which the demise took place.

The sculpture must have been an object of worship in one of the sanctuaries of Sarnath and its date is determined by a short inscription engraved on the back of the slab in characters of the Gupta period. The inscription contains the well-known Buddhist formula *ye dharma hetu-prabhava* etc. Asvajit, the fifth disciple of Buddha had been questioned by Upatissa, who afterwards became known as Sariputta, as to what the doctrine of his teacher was and he replied,

" Of all the phenomena sprung from a cause,
The Buddha the cause has told
And he tells too how each shall come to its end,
Such alone is the word of the Sage."

8. Gandhara sculpture representing the coffin of the Buddha before cremation at Kusanagara (modern Kasia), found at Yusufzai; now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

9. Slab illustrating the eight great events of the Buddha's career. The scene in the lower left corner portrays the birth of the Master, and that at the lower right corner his temptation by Mara and his subsequent enlightenment (*bodhi*) at Bodhi Gaya. The First Sermon is depicted in the upper left and the *Parinirvana* or death in the fourth corner. The intervening panels illustrate the four principal miracles performed by the Buddha. Of these, the panel immediately below the representation of the First Sermon shows the Master's descent from the Heaven of the thirty-three Gods (*Trayastrimsa*), whither he had himself ascended to preach his doctrine to his deceased mother Maya and then come down by a ladder of precious substances to Sankasya (modern Sankisa in the Farrukhabad District). The figures to his right and left are Brahma, identified by his *kamandala*, and Indra respectively. The subject depicted

next below is the presentation of honey by a monkey in the Parileyyayka forest near Vaisali or Kausambi, to which the Master had temporarily retired on account of quarrels among his disciples. In the panel to the right, we recognise the subjugation of the infuriated elephant (Nalagiri) which had been let loose at the Master at Rajagriha, at the instigation of Devadatta, the wicked cousin of the Buddha. The eighth event, the miracle of Sravasti (modern Saheth-Maheth on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts) occupies the panel below the *Parinirvana* scene. This miracle was performed by the Buddha to subdue his six adversaries (Tirthyas) and consisted in the Master walking in the air in various attitudes, while emitting alternately flames and waves of water from his person, and multiplying images of himself, up to the heaven and in all directions.

The sculpture dates from the late Gupta period and was found at Sarnath.

10. A remarkable sculpture of the Gandhara school (1st or 2nd century A.D.) representing Buddha as an ascetic. It depicts the Bodhisattva engaged at Bodhi Gaya in a severe austerity to attain supreme knowledge, which, however, did not come to him, according to the story, until he had abandoned the practice of self-torture. The sculpture is 2' 8½" high. It was excavated from the ruins of a monastery at Sikri in 1889 and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum.

11. Mediæval image in Magadha style showing Gautama Buddha at the moment of his enlightenment. Observe the *pipal* foliage at the top and the oval halo, distinctive of the Bihar sculptures. Now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

12. *Kanishka bronze casket*.—This casket was found by Dr. D. B. Spooner of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1908-09 in the great Stupa of the Kushan king Kanishka; now locally known as Sha-ji-ki-Dheri near the city of Peshawar. The casket is 5" in diameter and 4" in height from the base to the edge of the lid. The latter is crowned by a seated figure of Buddha with a standing Bodhisattava figure on either side. The three smaller objects to the right of the casket in the photograph are, beginning from the right, a six-sided crystal reliquary, a clay sealing with the device of an elephant standing to right, with which the reliquary was originally closed, and a copper coin of Kanishka. The crystal reliquary contained three small pieces of bone, undoubtedly the original relics of Gautama Buddha which were deposited by Kanishka in his stupa.

The casket is decorated by incised lotus-petals on the top of the lid, a row of flying geese (*hansa*) round the lower edge of the lid and a series of three-seated Buddhas supported, as it were, by a long undulating garland upheld by little Erotes, with larger worshipping figures at

intervals, round the body of the casket. The group in front of the photo shows the king Kanishka himself attended by a figure of the Moon to his right and one of the Sun to his left.

There are four short Kharoshthi inscriptions incised in dotted characters : (1) on the top of the lid, (2) between the figures of the geese, (3) between the heads of the figures in the frieze round the body of the casket and (4) between the feet of the same figures. The first inscription records the dedication of the relics to the teachers of the school of the Sarvastivādins, a sect of the Hinayana. The inscription between the geese means, " May this pious gift be for the welfare and happiness of all creatures." The fourth inscription is the most important of all the four epigraphs, as it tells us that a certain Greek named Agisala (or Agislaos) was the officer-in-charge of the construction of the Vihara or stupa of Kanishka at or in the vicinity of Mahasena's monastery. The inscription is so arranged that the name Kanishka occurs immediately to the right and left of his feet.

The discovery establishes the identity of the Shah-ji-ki-Dheri mound near Peshawar as the stupa of Kanishka and has supplied three authentic pieces of Gautama Buddha's own corporeal remains. These relics were presented by the Government of India to the Burmese of Burma and are now kept in a pagoda at Mandalay.

13. A fine sculpture exhibiting Kubera or Vaisravana, the God of Wealth, and his consort Hariti seated on a throne. Gandhara work, (1st or 2nd century A.D.) ; found at Sahri-Bahlol, District Peshawar.

14. A green faience seal found at Mohanjodaro. The photograph has been taken from an enlarged drawing. The scene on the obverse of the tablet shows a male figure seated on a throne attended by a human votary with a serpent (*Naga*) on either side. Circa. 3,000 B.C.

15. A square tablet, representing a Brahmani bull with a large flowing dewlap, and characterised by a remarkable accuracy of anatomical detail. Above the animal is a legend in pictographic characters. Circa. 3,000 B.C.

16. Medallion on Bharhut Stupa showing an animated representation of the Mahakapi-Jataka. In one of his previous existences Gautama Buddha was the lord of a large tribe of monkeys which lived on the bank of the Ganges and enjoyed the fruit of a great mango tree. King Brahmadatta of Benares besieged the spot to drive the monkeys away. The Bodhisattva monkey then stretched his body in the form of a bridge across the river and thus enabled his followers to escape into safety. His jealous cousin, Devadatta, however, who was in that life one of this tribe of monkeys, jumped on the Bodhisattva, while he was still stretched across the river, and wounded him mortally. The king was moved by the good

act of the great monkey and gave him royal obsequies. They are seen conversing with each other in the lower part of the panel.

17. A richly sculptured slab, one of a series of slabs which surrounded the base of the Amaravati Stupa (Circa. 1st century B.C.). The relief represents a Dagoba (Sanskrit, *Dhatugarbha*) complete with drum, dome and *hi*, flanked on either side by a sculptured pillar, surmounted by a wheel which is supported on the backs of lions and represents the Buddhist Law of Piety. The Stupa is ornamented with elaborate friezes exhibiting Jataka scenes, or scenes from the Buddha's previous existences. Around the base is a railing which is meant to be pierced with entrances at the four cardinal points. As should be expected, only one of these entrances is seen in the sculpture and shows in front of the Stupa a scene illustrating the worship of the wheel of *Dharma*. The spandrels on both sides of the dome contain divine figures in flight, holding "chauris," umbrellas, etc.

18. *The Karla Chaitya*.—This plate represents the Chaitya hall attached to the cluster of Vihars on the Poona Lonavala road about ten miles from the latter. It is cut out of a rock which formed the spur of a hill towering 500 feet above the plain near the modern village of Karla which has given it the popular name. The hall is 126 feet in length, 46 feet in breadth and the same in height.⁽¹⁾ From the inscriptions still preserved its age has been computed by Mr. James Fergusson to be about a century before the Christian era,⁽²⁾ and is without exception, the largest and finest, as well as the best preserved, of its class. As Fergusson observes, it "was excavated at a time when the style was in its greatest purity. In it all the architectural defects of the previous examples are removed; the pillars of the nave are quite perpendicular. The original screen is superseded by one in stone ornamented with sculpture—its first appearance apparently in such a position—and the architectural style had reached a position, that was never afterwards surpassed."⁽³⁾

Fifteen massive pillars, cut from the same rock on each side of the nave form the aisles each ten feet wide. Each pillar has a tall base, an octagonal shaft and richly ornamented capital, on which kneel two figures generally a man and a woman, but sometimes two females, all very much better executed than such ornaments usually are. The sculptures on the capitals supply the place usually occupied by frieze and cornice in Grecian architecture; and in other examples plain painted surfaces occupy the same space. Above this springs the roof, semi-circular in general section, but somewhat stilted at the sides so as to heighten its effect. It is ornamented by wooden ribs, coeval with the excavation.

(1) *Journal R.A.S. Journal* (Bombay Branch) (1853-57, pp. 151—157.)

(2) *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1910) 142—148.

(3) *Epigraphic Indica* (Pt. 7) 325—330.

Immediately under the semi-dome of the apse, and nearly where the altar stands in Christian churches, stands the *stupa*, in this instance a plain dome on a two-storeyed circular drum, the upper margin of each section being surrounded by ornamental railings. It is surmounted by a capital or tee of the usual form, on which stands a wooden umbrella, much blackened by age and smoke, but almost entire. The canopy is circular, minutely carved on the under surface and droops on two sides only, the front and rear. In the top of the capital there is a hole 10 inches deep covered by a slab which held the relic of a local saint since removed.

Light is let in through the entrance comprising three doorways under a gallery surmounted by a grand semi-circular window, and is diffused into the hall and falls on the *stupa* placed exactly opposite the central doorway, while still further, the screens and music galleries built in front and to the scenic effect of the grand panorama.

The gates and pillars bear inscriptions to commemorate the piety of several donors.

The chapel itself is surrounded by numerous cells similarly cut into the rock where the monks spent their *vassa*. These are now in a state of ruins, but nevertheless they bear witness to the vogue which Buddhism had attained so far south, now replaced by Animism, the symbol of which the bloody goddess Kali is a central figure of an unshapely shrine constructed in the vestibule in whose honour a festival is annually held in October, and to which fowls and goats are sacrificed, the *Chaitya* hall itself being used as a rest-house for the Hindu devotees who visit it for worship.⁽¹⁾

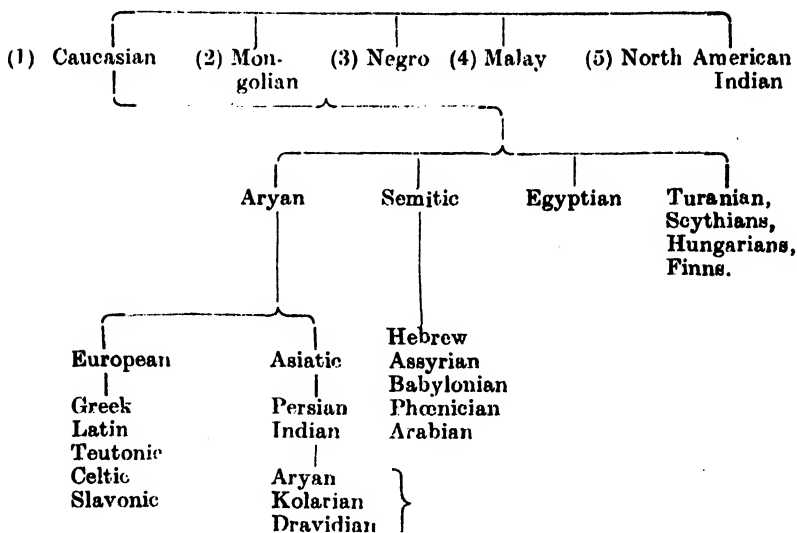
19. A large stone Buddha head found at Sahri-Bahlol, District Peshawar. The head shows the usual protuberance of the skull (*Ushnisha*), the *Urna* mark between the eye-brows and elongated ears (embossed at the back of cover.)

(1) This note is drawn by the Author.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

In order to understand the religious characteristics of a people, we cannot wholly ignore their racial characteristics. As is well-known, ethnologists subdivide the human race into five distinct families—the Caucasian (or white man), the Mongolian (or Tartar), the Negro, the Malay and the North American Indian. Of these, the religions of the world owe their inception to the two great races, the Hindus and the Jews; the former belonging to the Aryan branch of the Caucasian family, and the latter to the Semitic branch of the same. The following table illustrates their relationship :—



The Hindus have given birth to two great religions **Hinduism** and **Buddhism**, of which the latter cannot be understood without some knowledge of Hinduism and its sacred literature, which embraces every form of thought in which the law of contradiction is a dead letter. The population of India,

as of the followers of Hinduism, is a mixed population ; those in the north being of Aryan extraction from those who entered India from the Western passes, whereas the Kolarians who penetrated it from the North-eastern passes are now represented by the lowly civilized inhabitants of Chota Nagpur : the other immigrants are the Dravidians, who occupy the southern peninsula, and are represented by the Telugu, Tamil and Malabar.

We are here concerned only with the Aryan immigrants, whose incursion appears to have ceased by 1,500 B.C. They found the country occupied by the Turanian natives who had displaced the aborigines, but who easily yielded to the superior force of the new invaders. There were thus three distinct types of people when the last of the Aryan incursions ceased : the late arrivals who were of fair complexion, the past immigrants who, though of Aryan stock, had by their inter-marriages with the aborigines lost their colour; and the aborigines who were of a low negroid extraction. Upon giving up his nomadic character and settling down in village communities to the pursuit of agriculture and commerce, the first thing, that the new conqueror had to do, was to preserve the purity of his blood.

The three chief occupations of life—war, religious worship and trade—had already given rise to the three classes,—of warriors, priests and traders, which in course of time became hereditary and stereotyped into the three main castes of Kshatriyas, Brahmans and Vaishyas; and these, being all of the new invaders and subject to common communal and religious discipline, wore an outward symbol of their unity—"the sacred thread"—the initiation of which became afterwards as important a ritual as even marriage. It was, in reality, a mark of public acknowledgment and confirmation of the youth in the privileged rank of the Aryan—and he was, therefore, called a "Dwij" or "twiceborn." Below them stood the Turanian lowlanders, who were admitted into the fourth order as Shudras and who were artisans and labourers ; while the aborigines, who were outcasts and outside the pale of organized society, were, some of them treated as serfs or slaves and assigned menial occupations, and many of them were driven southwards. This system was in some

degree justified by its practical utility ; since the three higher castes naturally served the same purpose as guilds or trade-unions of modern times. In course of time each caste became self-contained, and inter-dining and inter-marriages were proscribed. The priests found this arrangement so convenient that they traced its origin to divine appointment ; and a myth explained how—as animals had been created in various classes, so too Brahma had created the four castes—the Brahman from his mouth, to teach men ; the Kshatriya from his arms, to defend them ; the Vaishya from his stomach, to feed them, and the Shudra from his feet, to serve them—to whom must be added the aborigines who were all classed as Mlenchchhas.

This quintuple sub-division of society was sufficiently rigid, though more elastic than it became in later times, when the orgy of caste led to its multiplication, so that the four castes have now multiplied a thousand-fold, the last census-return mentioning no less than 3,500 well-defined castes and sub-castes, in addition to numerous others, which are not yet so clearly defined.

Each caste possesses its own social autonomy. As a social organization, it is independent of all outside interference. But as all castes owe allegiance to Hinduism, they are expected to acknowledge the supremacy of the Brahmans, and worship one or other of the numerous approved gods of that faith. These gods are no less than 33 crores⁽¹⁾ in number, so that the choice is by no means limited.

In his religious beliefs and observances, the Hindu generally follows the natural bent of his mind, so long as he does not stray outside the fold of his religion by becoming a convert to an alien faith, *e.g.*, Mahomedanism or Christianity. If he joins the numerous allied, though openly hostile, sects *e.g.*, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, Brahmoism, or becomes a member of the Arya Samaj, he does not cease to be a Hindu, the reason being that all these religions and cults owe their authority or their existence to the force of either Hindu religion or its philosophy ;—the two were never looked apart, both being classed under the heading “*Dharm*” or Duty, as embracing both discursive knowledge and dogma.

(¹) One crore equals Ten Millions.

The growth of Hinduism is a growth, not by the process of evolution but by that of accumulation. No tenet once propounded is abandoned; only another tenet is propounded and placed alongside of it, as an equally authoritative revelation or exposition—the result being that tenets, diametrically opposing and self-contradictory, equally claim to owe their authority to the same infallible source. Though it does not authorise eclecticism and free discussion, it does not nevertheless proscribe or punish the holding of an opinion, however subversive of its theology.

The fact is that though the Hindu has still to pay his lip-courtesy to the Vedās as embodying his religion, he has wholly deserted all its gods who are all obsolete and superseded by the Puranic gods of the post-Vedic period. The literature of this period has been equally subversive of its philosophy. The two together mark an epoch in the religious development and the intellectual growth of the people. On the whole, the Vedic literature marks a purer faith, the Puranic, its base deterioration.

The former alone, which dates from 1,500 to 500 B. C., influenced Buddh; the latter, which dates from 400 B.C. to 600 A.D., had assisted in its corruption. These two epochs mark the deterioration of a positive monotheism into first—nature-worship, then—pantheism, and lastly—idolatry and demon-worship. In the first stage we have a curious dualism of esoteric rationalism combined with exoteric ritualism. Scepticism followed next—of which Buddhism is the finest flower—and in which the ethics of society found their basis in convention and law, rather than in religion. Last appeared polytheism and idolatry, superstition and magic, unbridled immorality and unlimited credulity. These three stages mark the progress of Hinduism, the last two of Buddhism.

The Vedic literature, which culminated in the sceptic philosophy of Kapil and the sceptic religion of Gautam Buddh, comprises the four Vedās, each subdivided into three parts as follows:—

(1) *The Mantras* (1,500-1,200 B.C.) or charms to convey thought—are five collections of hymns and texts of praises and

prayers, addressed to the personified forces of nature ; e.g., Indra (Thunder) ⁽¹⁾, Agni (Fire) ⁽²⁾, Varun (the Sky) ⁽³⁾, Mitra (the friend i.e., the Sun) ⁽⁴⁾. They constitute the first division of the Vedas and are classed as *Shruti* or "Direct Revelation", of which the principal collection is the Rig Veda containing 1,017 hymns. They contain no references to castes, images or temples or to the doctrines of Karm and the transmigration of the soul. They, however, prescribe elaborate forms of sacrifices of horses, bulls and goats and contain even a reference to human sacrifice. Buddha lost no opportunity in inveighing against their worthlessness.

(2) *The Brahmins* :—The Mantras are all in metre, while Brahmins, which followed (1,000-800 B.C.) ⁽⁵⁾, are prose-works appended to them, descriptive of the ceremonial necessary for each sacrifice, to be performed by the Brahmins, who are alone the medium of salvation—which is described as an absorption in the Divine Essence ; while there is a faint allusion to the doctrine of transmigration of souls and the doctrine of Karm to which it is subject. The sacrifice substituted for men is that of horses, bullocks, goats and sheep.

(3) Alongside of the Brahmins were composed the Upanishads,—also works in prose, numbering about 235, the oldest of which preceded Buddhism. They develop the doctrine both of psychology and ontology, postulating the eternal existence of souls, which like the Brahman, have had neither a beginning nor an end, but acquire consciousness when linked to a material body ; and this partnership of the two incongruous elements is the prime source of suffering and sorrow which continues so long as, following the Law of Causation, the chain of births and re-births continues,—the soul passing through higher or lower existences according to its action (which is the Law of Karm) until, after its sublimation by virtuous acts, it attains to a higher life and eventually reaches the stage of sublimity, when re-births cease and the soul becomes re-absorbed in the supreme Brahman.

(1) *Dyaus* (Heaven) or *Dyaus-Pitar* (Heavenly Father). "Zeus of Greece ; *Dies-pitar*, then Jupiter of Rome. *Aditi* (Space or Nature) personified as a goddess.

(2) *Surya* the Sun-god, *Indra* and *Agni* were the Vedic triads.

(3) *Ouranos* (*Uranus*) of Greece ; Ahura Mazda of Zoroastrianism.

(4) *Mithra* of the Persians.

(5) *Upanishad* I S. B. E., LXVII.

This speculation became the fruitful fountain of vigorous heresies. Buddhists speak of sixty-four systems of heresy which they discussed and dismissed; but Hindus only recognize six schools of philosophy the *Shat Shastras* ("The six Instruments of True Knowledge") which are ((1) The Sankhya, (2) Yoge, (3) Mimansa, (4) Vedant, (5) Nyay, and (6) Vaisheshik, a supplement to the Nyay. Of these, the Mimansa and the Vedant relate to rituals, Yoge to Abstraction, and Nyay and its supplement deal with Logic. The two systems of outstanding distinction were the Sankhya, the Sceptic system, and the Nastik or Nihilist system which was contemptuously left unclassified. There were those, who, while admitting the existence of souls, denied the existence of Brahm; while there were others who denied the existence of both. The one created the Sankhya school of which Kapil is the reputed founder, the other a school of *Nastiks*, of which Charwak and Ajit were the principal protagonists. All these systems and their off-shoots between themselves covered every possible line of thought.

It is at this stage of Hindu thought that Gautam was born; he unravelled the speculations of each school and reached a result which he embodied in his own doctrine, to which reference will have to be made later on.

The school of Buddhism was followed by the Puranik period—a period, of which the mouthpiece was the Bhakti-Shastras, which, while rejecting the sacrifices of the Vedas, held salvation as attainable not only by *Ved* (Knowledge), or *Karm* (actions, good deeds), but equally by *Bhakti* (love or devotion to the gods). The idea of Love was carried to a further limit by the *Tantras* ⁽¹⁾ which are dialogues between Shiv and his consort—*Shakti* and teach magical and mystical formularies for the worship of the deities or the attainment of super-human power. Both these sets of writings adopt the *Sankhya* division of Creation into two primordial elements, the *Purush* (the Person, the Ego, the Soul) and *Prakriti* (the matter or body), but turn that division to subserve their own purpose. Even in the older Upanishads the *Purush* or Ego was regarded as the active principle and was

(1) *Tantra*—to rule; the principal doctrine.

compared to the male, while *Prakriti* or Nature was regarded as the female recipient of the creative principle. But, since in the beginning there was only the Brahm, He became divided into Brahm and Prakriti, and so evolved a scale of beings which reached from inanimate nature, through vegetable life, animals, men, saints and gods up to the highest manifestation in the Trinity of (1) Brahma, the Creator—whose Guna or special quality is activity, (2) Vishnu, the Preserver, whose Guna or special quality is goodness and (3) Shiv, the destroyer whose Guna is darkness. But since the three are one, and the one has evolved the three, the worship of each is equally meritorious ; but in the Tantras, the worship of Brahma disappeared and as the Trinity had to be completed, the two deities were provided with a consort *Shakti* or Energy, who represented the female and afterwards the more active element. The Purans number eighteen (1) of which some extol Vishnu and his gunas, while others do the same for Shiv ; but the majority of them, no less than twelve, place Vishnu above both Brahma and Shiv who are only his manifestations. The Bhagvat Puran (1,200 A.D.) which consists of about 18,000 Shlokas (2) deals exclusively with the glorification of Bhagwat or (the “ Lord ”) Vishnu. Its tenth book narrates in detail the life of Krishna and is probably the best known portion of that or any other Puran. Four Purans favour the cult of Shiv (3). All the Purans appear to belong to the post-Mahabharat age. Many of them refer to it, while most of them copy its episodes and stories ; but their primary purpose was to recommend the sectarian cult of Vishnu, though some of them favoured the worship of Shiv. The worship of this latter god was taken up in right earnest by the Tantras already mentioned. These are doubtless later compositions, brought into existence when the controversy between the followers of the two gods had sharpened to a spear-head. They profess to teach the real doctrine, couched in the form of dialogues between Shiv and his consort—*Shakti*, advocating their cult,—some of them showing a distinct bias in favour of Shakti even to the exclusion of Shiv.

(1) Besides these, there are 18 Upapurans which deal with the ritual more than the epic.

(2) Metrical couplets.

(3) These are the *Skand* ; *Shiv* ; *Ling* ; and *Bhavishya* or *Bharishyat Puran*.

The popularization of these symbolisms to explain Creation led to the personification of the procreative principle, and it was accompanied by the performance of obscure rites, accompanied by immoral practices. Shiv and Vishnu both became rival deities; the Shivites converted their god, the one time-destroyer, into a Brahm; but this was represented as the Purush and represented by the phallic symbol, while his temple, built in the midst of rivers and tanks, typified the union of *Purush* and *Prakriti* as parents of creation. The rivalry between the worshippers of the two gods soon deepened into two opposing sects—the Shivites and the Vishnavites. Brahm is now forgotten and his worship considered obsolete as being unsuited to the *Kaliyug* (present age). Vishnu takes his place and pervades the universe, as Brahm did to the Vedic sage. He has revealed himself to man in several incarnations, the most complete being Ram and Krishna, whose consorts—Sita and Radha respectively—represent the Shakti elements of Creation. As the Purans inculcate the worship of Vishnu, the Tantras inculcate the worship of Shiv, and latterly of Shakti—which has assumed different forms *e.g.*, Kali (or the Black demon-goddess) in Bengal, and Durga (the wife of Shiv) elsewhere. Shiv had an issue by Durga,—the minor god Ganesh, Ganpati, or Vinayak with the elephant's head provided by the irate father in substitution of the one he had taken off. He is the god of learning and is worshipped all over the country.

Brahmanical speculation, like all speculations, indeed, like all created things, had passed through its three stages of infancy, maturity and decay. Buddhism rose just when Brahmanism, having passed out of its constructive vigour, had entered upon its period of decrepitude. In its first stage, its speculation postulated the existence of a Supreme Spirit—Brahm—and ascribed the creation of the universe to His will. The world was the phantom production of His creative energy. It was a *Maya*—an illusion produced to the sensual perception of mankind. The universe, being the product of His will, pervaded His soul. All beings were likewise emanations from Him and comprehended His spirit in varying degrees. The vital principle in man was His spirit. As all sentient creation was a manifestation of the

same spirit, respect for sentient life followed as a necessary corollary. The matter was a grand mechanism for the purification of the soul; its destiny lay in its re-absorption in Brahm. A creed—so universal—could admit of no proselytism. All were creatures of the same Creator. All were tending towards the same goal. It was the supreme attainment of human effort. A thin venter of the ethical doctrine overlay this abstruse cosmogony. It was followed by an expansion which marked its final decadence.

The present day Hinduism is reduced to the worship of Ram, Krishna, Shiv and Kali, though other minor gods also receive their due share of reverence.

Hindu religion has thus passed from Animism to Monotheism, thence to Pantheism, and after over 1,500 years of Scepticism systematized by Buddhism, it has now degenerated into an idol-worship and conventional ritualism, in which the form is regarded as everything, and its substance as nothing. The orthodox Hindu, still adhering to the *Sanatan Dharm* ⁽¹⁾ starts his day by repairing to a stream or pool in which he first throws his floral offerings to propitiate the Spirit of water; he then rinses his mouth and bathes his body, then bends knee-deep in water and prays, standing first on the right leg and then on the left; he then turns round and bows to the four quarters of the compass, and then filling his water-pot, he turns to the rising sun and pours out its water as his libation to that deity. If he is more devout, or has time, or has taken a vow, or has to make a special prayer, he makes an idol out of the earth, taken from the bed of the river, to which he prays; which done, he immerses it again and then leaves the stream, to follow his usual occupation. Those who can afford it, employ Brahmans to officiate for them; and sometimes assisted by the worshipper or without him, they go through the same ritual which is held conducive to the same end.

From this necessarily rapid survey of the evolution of Hinduism and its doctrine, it will be apparent that Hinduism had already outlived its zenith of purity and excellence, some centuries before Buddhism arose to accelerate its downfall. Its pristine

(1) *Sanatan*—everlasting, old ancient; hence the Orthodox.

stage of metaphysical purity had already closed when the corrupting influence of the priest-craft aroused Gautam from his princely apathy.

The establishment of an Aryan colony amongst the aborigines of darker hue called for the preservation of the unsullied blood of the invader. The easier life of the priest was productive of mental apathy. New weapons were forged to control the masses and reduce them to subservient subjection. The dogma of metaphysics was overlaid with the fungus of falsehood.

The sum-total of the Buddhist attack on Brahmanism was directed against all the following essential points of its oppressive dogma, which had replaced the comparative simplicity of its abstract thought. The crying need of the hour was to restrain, if it be impossible to prevent, the exactions of the priest. It was only possible by challenging their supremacy and assumed sanctity. But this could not be done without attacking the entire net-work of make-beliefs which passed for religion. In the fore-front stood the popular veneration for the Vedas which the Brahmans passed as Revelation; and, as these could be added to or altered at any time to suit the exigency of the occasion, it was the master-key to human deception. Kapil had, of course, previously denied that pretension ⁽¹⁾; but he had stood alone. Buddha was the first to bring its fatuity home to the masses. The Brahmans had invented the doctrine of Mantras—the miraculous power of the formulary. Its proper intonation wrought miracles, and as this was the privilege of only the Brahmans, all that the laity had to do was to pay them for their recitation, the power of which was greatly heightened by elaborate and costly sacrifices, of which the Vedas prescribed befitting rituals. And in order to produce a pre-disposition and a spirit of hierolatriy, they enjoined *Tapas* (self-torture) and *Yoge* (meditation) on the part of the individual as necessary high-roads to salvation. By these ministrations which it was for the Brahmans to give and the non-Brahmnans to receive, they placed themselves even above the gods in the heavens, who were said to live by their sufferance. ⁽²⁾

(1) "The Vedas are not from eternity: for there is scripture for their being a production."

(2) *Vishnu*, XIX-22; 7 S. B. E. 77.

Worship of the Brahman became even more meritorious than the worship of the gods, who trembled before his Mantras and his sacrifices, by which he could bring about a revolt in their midst, and the power of Yoge—which gave him direct access to Brahm himself.

The conflict between the Aryan and the Non-Aryan, and the traditional conservatism of the people to cling to their vocational pursuits, led to the perpetuation of caste—the combined resultant being an irradicable pessimism which tinged the philosophy, and which was after all the only lesson of life. Buddha accepted its pessimism, of which he was convinced by experience; but he strove hard against all that Brahmanism expressed and implied—the Divine Revelation of the Vedas, the force of Mantras, the value of sacrifices, Yoge, penance or self-torture, the division of society by caste, and above all, the pretensions and assumptions of the Brahmans, their super-divinity, their selfishness and unscrupulous exactions.

The world has never again witnessed the spectacle of its four great teachers being born in different countries about the same time; and, what is more, three of them teaching similar doctrines independently, presumably without knowledge of one another. These were Confucius (551-478 B.C.) and Lao-Tsze (600? B.C.) in China, and Zoroaster (589-539 B.C.) in Persia. Greater than all of them was, of course, Gautam; but the influence of his contemporaries, though limited, was nevertheless considerable; and they have created systems which, as in the case of the Chinese teachers, have proved valuable co-adjuncts to Buddhism; and it is known that Zoroaster's teaching, though limited to Persia, did influence, and was in turn influenced by the Jewish theology; but how far it acted as a link with Buddhism can only be the subject of speculation⁽¹⁾. That Persia was for centuries after the dawn of Buddhism and its extension to Afghanistan, a buffer between Buddhism and Judaism, which disappeared with the subjugation of the Jews and the conquest of Western India, lends plausibility to the theory advanced—that Buddhist influence

(1) Prof. Darmester refers to the dual influences of Buddhism and Judaism upon the doctrine of Zoroaster, *Zend-Avesta* 4 S.B.E. §7 LIV ch. IV pp. LVII *et seq.*

had made itself felt in Jewish theology long before the dawn of the Christian era.

Like Buddha, Zarathushtra, better known to the Europeans as Zoroaster, did not claim to be more than a religious reformer. It appears that the ancient religion of the Medes and the Persians was a Vedic form of Hinduism ; but in consequence of a religious schism ⁽¹⁾ of which the origin is obscure, the Persians formed a religion of their own in antagonism to the Brahmans, an antagonism which was extended to their gods (*Devas*) whom they adopted in the first instances as the demons ; on the other hand, they began to worship the demons of the Brahmans (*Asuras*), as their own gods (*Ahuras*). This was the work of Zoroaster, who appears to have been the descendant of one of the Magis or the hereditary priests of the Medes whose empire the Persians had overthrown. Zoroaster composed the *Zend-Avesta* ⁽²⁾ in four divisions, comprising the hymns and prayers for worship, the sacrificial ritual and a code of law, both religious and civil. The work is only a collection of Zend fragments, and contains either polemics against or loans from the great contemporary systems, the Brahmanical, the Buddhist, the Greek and the Jewish ⁽³⁾. ; but according to Prof. Darmester its practical and moral ideal revolted against the inert asceticism of Buddhism, the ethical indifference of Brahmanism and the superstitious low worship of immoral *Devas*, while Greece and Palestine on the contrary brought to it novel, fascinating and edifying thoughts ⁽⁴⁾.

Zoroaster was the worshipper of the Sun-god and as *Ahura-Mazda* (Lord-wisdom) or Ormuzd he gave him the first place in his pantheon and with Him were associated certain immortal saints called *Amshaspendas*—personifications of the virtues, which Ormuzd has created in man. Over against Him stood *Ahriman*, the prince of darkness, born of the spirit of Evil (*Angro-Mainya*), who like Lucifer had been driven out of heaven by the victorious angel *Mitra* (the Sun-god), who left his agent—*Indra* to carry on the struggle. The system is founded on the ancient dualism

(1) Prof. Darmester doubts the schism—
Zend Avesta 4 S. B. E. LII.

(2) *Zend*—commentary, *Avesta*—text,
"Commentary and text," "Annotated Text."

Translated in 4, 23, 31, S. B. E.

(3) *Zend Avesta*, 4 S. B. E. LI.

(4) *Ib.* LXVIII.

of Good and Evil, in which Good will eventually triumph ; but, meanwhile, man must take up the struggle for Good and assist in the extermination of Evil by purity of thought, word and deed, and not by ceremonial purity alone. Honesty and truth are the chief virtues to be cultivated till light overpowers darkness, and the wicked perish in hell and the virtuous rise again in their bodies and experience the eternal bliss of heaven. This doctrine of resurrection was adopted by the Jews and has since passed into Christianity. ⁽¹⁾

Confucius ⁽²⁾ and Lao-Tsze ⁽³⁾ whose teachings bear a closer relationship with Buddhism will be the subject of reference in the sequel. They have both become adjuncts to Buddhism in China, where their doctrines hold currency alongside of that religion.

⁽¹⁾ Jackson's *Zoroaster*, (1899).

⁽²⁾ Translated in 39, 40. S.B.E.

⁽³⁾ Texts translated in 27, 28 S. B. E.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

II

The history of Buddhism is the history of the development of religious thought in India in the sixth and the seventh century before the Christian era. Those centuries will ever be memorable for the Intellectual ferment, created by the close application of human reason to the solution of the great problems of life and death, of the nature and object of the Universe, and in its search for an ultimate cause to explain the riddle of its creation and government. Records of the civilization of man go many centuries before the birth of Gautam Buddha, Confucius and Lao-Tsze. Nor were these centuries wholly devoid of fruitful speculation. The questions, which grip the attention of the modern thinker, had equally engaged the minds of the patriarchal saints, who saw above the starry firmament and found around them the manifestation of life, in every phase of development and at every stage of evolution. But the one thing common to all life is its impermanence. And this was a frailty which even man, the highest and noblest product of earth, shared with the meanest ephemera that live, have their day and die in the twinkling of an eye. Man began naturally to ask why it was that he was so laboriously made and how it was that he so inevitably vanished. High or low, rich or poor, virtuous or wicked, healthy or diseased—they all suffered the same pre-destined fate. Why create life, if it is to be so transient? The beautiful rose, with its ineffable beauty and scent, blossomed in the morning; by the evening its petals were scattered by the wind. Man—the master of Creation, with his work unfinished, had to answer to the same summons of Death. The desire for an eternal life rose within him, as friends were torn off from friends, relations from relations—and some of them even in the hey-day of their lives. Diseases abounded and carried off the young ones no sooner were they born. Was man, then, the victim of a fortuitous concourse of circumstances or was he planned to answer a scheme of Nature? The innate

instinct of all sentient life was to live and not to die. Life how-much-so-ever miserable was preferable to death. The craving to live created a craving for eternal life. The wise found a solace in the belief of a life beyond the grave. It was the only thing man could do. If he could not live here for ever, he could at least hope for such a life hereafter. But how could he live after his body had perished? Or was life something over and above the fragile body in which it became manifest?—These two questionings gave man two solutions: The one—that life was imperishable and survived the perishable body, and the other—that if the perishable body remained, life would return. It gave umbrage to the combined doctrines of immortality and resurrection.

Immortality, the Egyptians argued, was a fact in as much as death was a falsehood, because we have never known it to be true of ourselves, and furthermore, because we will not admit that it can be true of ourselves: "Thou hast departed living, thou hast not departed dead".⁽¹⁾ Hence, if after the physical death we are not dead, we must be alive. Even the suspension of the signs of animation were temporary, and if the body could be preserved, the soul that had flitted from it would certainly return. It led to the mummification of the dead, and the following prayer of the dead envisages the life's longing and its solution, as it occurred to the Egyptian mind over five thousand years ago: "May there be given to thee thy eyes to see; thy ears, to hear what is spoken; thy mouth, to speak; and thy feet, to walk. May thy hands and arms move, and thy flesh be firm. May thy members be pleasant, and mayst thou have joy of all thy births. Mayst thou scanty flesh (and find it) whole and sound, without any blemish upon thee, thy true heart being with thee, even the heart that thou didst have heretofore"⁽²⁾. The dead returned, but before their return they did not die, but enjoyed beatitude which gave comfort to their bereaved friends: "Of a truth, it is without water, it is without air,—deep, dark, and cold, a place where

(1) *Pyramid Texts*, 134; "Thou diest not," *Ib.* 657 etc.

(2) K. Sethe: *Urkunden des ägypt. Altertums*, IV-114. (Leipzig.)



one lives in quietude. Pleasures of love are not there to be had, nay, but beatitude is given to me in lieu of water and air, and love, quietude in lieu of bread and beer"(1).

But with all this, the Egyptian felt the reality of death which he dreaded. He dared not mention even its name—those dead being merely mentioned as ‘those who have gone yonder’ or ‘gone to the West’. “O ye, who love life and hate death” was the opening formula of the grave stone. Fully conscious of it, the Egyptian was an epicure and lived up to the moral which he conveyed in his songs: “The nobles and glorified ones..... buried in their pyramids, who built themselves chapels, their place is no more; what is become of them?.....” Then comes the inevitable: “Be of good cheer, forget and enjoy thyself. Follow thy heart, so long as thou livest; place myrrh on thy head, clothe thyself with fine linen, anoint thyself, forget sorrow and remember joy, until arrives that day of putting to shore in the land that loveth silence”(2). Indeed, even when the pyramids were erected and the return to life eagerly awaited, there was never absent from the mind the fear that the dead might never return and suffer a “second death in the necropolis”(3). All the same, the Egyptian never gave way to morbid pessimism. In his heart of hearts he did not dismiss from his mind the thought that the dead never rise and that, therefore, the best thing man could do was to make the most of his life.

This cheerful view of life pervades the Greek and Roman philosophers from the earliest times. Almost contemporary with Buddha, Solon gave expression to it in his interview with Croesus. Herodotus describes its details. Solon had visited Sardis where Croesus, the King of Lydia, showed him round his royal palace and his inestimable wealth, after which he asked him whom he considered the happiest man he had ever seen. To the surprise of Croesus, Solon named Tellus of Athens, and when asked to explain his reasons, he said, “Because Tellus

(1) *Book of the Dead* ch. 175.

(2) Epitaph on a Theban Tomb of the priest Neferhotpe (V. 114 f. 10th Dynasty); W. Max Müller; *Die Leberpessis der*

alten Ägypter (Leipzig) (1899) pp. 29-37.

(3) *Book of the Dead* Ch. 44, 45; 163. 175, 176.

lived in a prosperous city and was the father of handsome and good sons and saw children born to them all and surviving ; and that after a life of affluence, as we count affluence in Hellas, he died a most glorious death, fighting for his country after he had routed its enemies at Elensis, for which he was accorded a public burial where he fell." Cræsus then asked him who was the second in happiness. Solon answered—"Cleobis and Biton," who finding that their oxen had not arrived to carry their mother to the Temple of Hera, of which she was the priestess and which she had to attend, as it was the day of a festival, yoked themselves to the waggon and carried her a distance of forty-five stades. Their exertion cost them their lives, for they died at the end of their journey. Cræsus was annoyed that Solon had not accorded him even a second place, and said so. But Solon only retorted, "Consider the end of every thing, and call no man happy till he is dead. A man may be fortunate without being happy and happy without being fortunate. It can never be said that he is happy till the sum-total of his life-work is appraised. Life was uncertain and the gods fickle and all one's life-work might be destroyed in a moment."⁽¹⁾

Cræsus was annoyed and dismissed Solon without ceremony, considering him a very foolish man, who, overlooking present blessings, bade men to look to the end of everything. But this was the Greek view of life,—as Homer had put it—"Look before and after"—According to Solon, the things that make up human happiness are, adequate endowment of worldly goods, health, beauty of person, prosperous children, and a death in accord with these goods, to which Aristotle would add—good birth and the possession of many good friends,—a friend being defined as "one who, if he considers anything to be good for another, is ready to do it for the other's sake"⁽²⁾, honour and virtue, the four cardinal virtues according to Plato being courage, justice, temperance and wisdom.⁽³⁾

How then, and where shall it be better for the just man? Here and in this life. And this was the prevailing Greek and

(1) *Herodotus*, 1-30, ff.

(2) *Rhetoric*.

(3) *Republic*, 427 E.

Hebrew view of life, which the Romans adopted. Julius Cæsar, while holding the office of Pontifex Maximus, delivered himself in the Senate, of the doctrine that after death there was no place either for trouble or for joy.

This cheerful conception of life and its obligations finds an echo in the Old Testament, in which it is declared: There are three things which "tend to life": righteousness, ⁽¹⁾ the labour of the righteous, ⁽²⁾ and the fear of the Lord. ⁽³⁾ Those who conform to His will, "live"—that is, enter the new kingdom for ever, and those who disobey, shall "die" i.e. perish in the crisis, being excluded from the kingdom.

It is thus clear that the Jewish and the Western conception of life has always been optimistic, and their philosophy and their popular literature have alike voiced the one cry—"Live and strive"; for there is happiness in life, and life can be made happy, if lived up to the ideal of such life.

But this has never been the conception of the Eastern mind, where unqualified pessimism has found its way both in philosophy and the popular literature of the people. In the Indian philosophy, life was held to comprise a dual element—the perishable body and its "unborn part" ⁽⁴⁾. In the funeral ode in the Rigved ⁽⁵⁾ a prayer is given that when the body was placed on the funeral pile and the process of cremation had begun, Agni, the god of fire, was prayed not to scorch or consume the departed, not to tear asunder his skin or limbs, but after the flames had done their work, to convey to the ancestors the mortal who had been presented as an offering. His eyes were bidden to go to the sun, while his breath to the wind, and so on; while his unborn part Agni was supplicated to kindle with his heat and flame and convey it to the land of the righteous.

In the pre-Buddhistic Upanishads, the soul was held to exist inside the human body and was the one sufficient explanation of life and motion. In the living body it dwelt in

(1) *Proverbs*, XI-19.

(2) *Ib.* X-16.

(3) *Ib.* XIX. 23.

(4) *Aja bhag* (A-not; Ju-born, bhag-

part)—i.e. "the unborn part."

(5) X.—LXIII-8, X.—XVI 1-5; X.—XIV-7.

a cavity of the heart, was material and of the size of a grain of rice or barley. In later speculation, it is said to be of the size of a thumb and in shape like a man and is, therefore, called "the dwarf" within. Its composition was material, being earth, water, fire and ether; but it was by no means certain; since in some of the Sūtras, it was described to be made of consciousness, mind, breath; heat and no heat; desire and no desire; anger and no anger; law and no law, in other words, apperception. The soul was, however, distinct from the body and in sleep it quitted the body and produced dreams, and in body, certain diseases; so that charms had to be employed to recall it. There is also a curious speculation with three variants on the transfer of the soul by generation through the seed. One of them takes the soul after its emergence from the body to the moon where it becomes the food of the gods on account of its good deeds. As soon as the efficacy of these deeds is exhausted, it passes from the gods to the ether, thence into the air, and thence into the rain, thence on to the earth; and from it into plants which become food to males whence they pass into females. The soul of the man whose craving has ceased, goes to Brahm. While the Vedās declare that the release of the soul from its partnership with the body might be secured by sacrifice and penance, the Upanishads declare this impossible. The transit of the soul to the moon is declared as a revolution. It is said to revel in the bright fortnight, but in the dark fortnight it descends into new births in the forms prescribed for it by Karm.

Before the advent of Buddhism, the philosophic thought had already flown into different channels, giving rise to at least six principal schools of philosophy, namely: the Vedānt (also called Uttar Mimāṃsā) founded by Vyas, the Mimāṃsā (a commentary on the Vedānt), the Nyāy founded by Gautam, (not Gautam Buddha), the Sāṅkhya founded by Kapil, the Vaiśeṣik founded by Kaṇād and Yoge founded by Patanjali. All, except the Sāṅkhya, proceed upon the supremacy of the Vedās which are recognized both as eternal and as revealed. But this acknowledgment is merely complimentary, since the

Vedas contain no philosophic discussion, being merely concerned with sacrificial rituals and hymns. All these systems expound their principles in *Sutras* which are classed as only next to the Upanishads and are regarded with almost as much veneration as the Vedas themselves. They are even spoken of as *Vedāntas* ⁽¹⁾ or appendices to the Vedas. Diametrically opposed though some of them are to each other, they are all nevertheless treated as the orthodox commentaries on the Vedic metaphysics. The essence of the Vedic doctrine, so far as it can be gathered from its disjointed references, is pantheism which simply means that God is the universal spirit. It is impassive and impersonal, unconscious and without any attributes⁽²⁾. Three divergent systems fall under the Vedāntic system, namely (a) the *Advait* ⁽³⁾ (Monism), (b) *Dvait* (Dualism), and (c) the *Vishist-Advait* (qualified Monism). The chief exponent of the first is Shankaracharya who flourished in the ninth century; of the second, Madhavacharya of the thirteenth century; while Ramanuj, the protagonist of the third, lived in the eleventh century.

According to the *Advait* or the monistic system of Vedānt philosophy, there is only one existence—the Brahman; the world is an illusion (*Maya*); or if it exists, it is not distinct from Brahman. The human soul is identical with Brahman—and is in fact Brahman himself; but on account of its connection with the body, it cannot realize that identity. But at death, being freed from the screen of the senses, it will realise that identity. This cardinal doctrine of Vedāntic philosophy that God or Spirit is the only reality, and one with the human soul, asserts itself in almost all Hindu sects, even though their other doctrines may seem to contradict it. For example, the three branches of the Vedānt schools are themselves in conflict upon their root-principle. For while the *Advait* school postulates on a single element, and the *Dvaitvādins*, though calling themselves Dualists, are really Triolists in that they postulate the existence of three eternal entities—namely, God, the soul and matter, and what is more, they regard every in-

(1) *Veda* "to know," "knowledge" and "lit. (Books) at the end of the Vedas."

(2) *Nirgun-Nir*—without, *Gun*—"qualities."
(3) *A-not*, *Dvait*—second, "No second."

dividual soul distinct and independent of every other soul,—they agree with the Advaitas in holding that the human souls when liberated from the bonds of re-births ⁽¹⁾ will find their utmost bliss in an inseparable union with Brahm. There remains the intermediate school which denies that Brahm is *nirgun* or devoid of attributes, holding him to be omnipresent, omniscient and opposed to all evil. The world and the soul are a distinct and separate emanation of Him. They are real and not a mere illusion. Matter and soul constitute his body. The eventual destination of the souls is no doubt their union in Brahm, but this union does not destroy their individuality.

It will be observed that however widely these schools may differ as to the nature and attributes of Brahm, the world and the soul, they all agree on one vital issue—that the world and the body which the souls inhabit are an obstacle and an impediment to the attainment of their final goal, which is either the absorption by, or the union with, Brahm. As a necessary deduction from this, follows the inutility of corporate life which is the prison-house of the soul, from which its quickest emancipation is the only means of attaining the final goal of existence, with its eternal conscious or unconscious beatitude. This is the main fulcrum of the pessimism of Indian philosophy, and it has overshadowed all speculation aggravated in the Buddhist metaphysics.

Both systems of philosophy—those of the East and of the West—proceed on the main quest of happiness, and they both offer a solution. The Western thought which refuses to link the present with the past or future lives, looks forward to that eternal happiness in resurrection, the East finds the same solution in absorption. To the one, this life being the only one possible, must be lived well, extracting out of it such happiness as it is possible to secure in the admittedly imperfect and transitory world; to the other, the attachment to life creates yearning for its continuance which results in re-births and elongation of the chain of precarious existences,

(1) *Lit. Sansar i.e.,* "The world," "Corporate bodies."

lengthening the distance between the soul and its true objective.

The other systems of Hindu thought the Nyay and Vaisheshik, Yoge and Purv Mimansa equally accept the same objective, though they differ in details. The Vaisheshik school is the atomic school founded by Kanād. It teaches that matter consists of atoms ⁽¹⁾ which are individually indestructible, though when combined, they are liable to decompose. The Yoge prescribes the method for earthly union with God. It provides for the life of mental detachment from all earthly surroundings and concentration of the mind upon Brahm which insures its union even when the soul remains imprisoned in the body. The system which strikes an original line of its own and deviates materially from the Vedāntic system is the school of Sankhya philosophers, founded by Kapil and systematized by the grammarian Patanjali, author of the Sankhya Sutras, compiled some four hundred years after the birth of Buddhism; but it is, of course, pre-Buddhistic; and it is the one system to which Buddhism is said to be beholden for its distinctive doctrines.

But very little examination of these systems shows their loose affinity and wider differences. It is not now ascertainable when Kapil founded his school, but it must have been several centuries before the dawn of Buddhism; for Buddh had been to the teachers of that system to resolve his doubts on the value of life. The Sankhya has certainly this fact in common with Buddhism that it evolves its system independently of Brahm. But neither the Sankhya nor any of the established schools of orthodox philosophy have any ethical nexus. They are all individualistic and solely concerned with the one relationship of man to God—the relationship of man to man is a purely Buddhistic innovation. The Sankhya system, as it existed before Buddhism, was probably a system well-evolved; but the only treatise now available is a short poem of seventy verses—the Sankhya Karika and a short tract, the Tattva Samas, which contains nothing more than an enu-

(1) *Anu*—small and *Sarah*—dots.

meration of topics as the most ancient formulary. The term *Sankhya* itself implies enumeration, in allusion to the predilection of the school for numbered lists,—a predilection noticeable in early Buddhism.

To begin with, the Sankhya professes ignorance, if it does not actually deny the existence, of a personal supreme deity, contending that whatever exists must be either bound or free, and God can be neither ⁽¹⁾. It is inconceivable that He should be bound, nor can He be free, since freedom implies the absence of desire and hence of the impulse to create. Again, if God is perfect He can have no need to create a world. It is impossible that He should have created it out of selfishness or kindness. For if His motive was selfish, it is a blot on His perfection; if kindness, the world with its suffering disproves it. Why should He have created beings, who when non-existent had no suffering, but who when created had to experience suffering? A benevolent deity ought to create only happy creatures, not a mixed world like the one we see. "There is no such thing as the 'Creator' and the 'Created': the two are the same." ⁽²⁾

Having thus eliminated the intervention of God, it rests its theory of Creation on the assumption that there exist, uncreated and from all eternity, two entities, one—matter and the other—individual souls. "Everything except Nature and Soul is un-eternal ⁽³⁾". "Soul is, because there is no proof that it is not ⁽⁴⁾". "Soul is eternal ⁽⁵⁾". "Soul is not material. It is something else than the body ⁽⁶⁾". It has not Intelligence as its attribute, because it is without quality ⁽⁷⁾". The world, as we know it, is the product of the evolution of matter. Matter attracts souls, and the two when united create a bondage resulting in suffering, from which the soul tries to wrest itself free. The suffering is inevitable in the union of the two incompatible entities; since the soul, which is etherial and unchangeable, feels a natural repulsion to be united with matter,

(1) *Sankh. Pravac.* I—92—95; V—46.
Sankhya Aphorisms; (Mr. Ballantyne)
(T. O. S.) pp. 113-114.

(2) *Sankh. Pravac.* I—118. p. 138.

(3) *Sankhya Aphorisms*, V—72 p. 373.

(4) *Sankhya Aphorisms*, V—1, p. 410.

(5) *Ib.*, I—130, p. 159; V—72, p. 373.

(6) *Ib.*, V—130, 141, 142, 143, pp.
159-161.

(7) *Ib.*, I—146, p. 164.

which is constantly changing, and from which it parts company the moment it acquires discriminating knowledge that it is not matter. Thus separated, it attains eternal peace.

It is not the fulfilment of a hope, since "He who is without hope is happy, like Pingal;"⁽¹⁾ and it is only "Someone somewhere is happy:"⁽²⁾ that is, there is no such thing as eternal happiness; it is conditioned by environments.

The system is founded on dualism, the eternal antithesis between soul and matter, called Purush⁽³⁾ or the Ego and Prakriti⁽⁴⁾ or Matter. It denies the Vedantic assertion that the world is a mere emanation of Brahm, holding in its strictest sense that *ex nihilo nihil fit*. Matter can only be produced from matter, and really speaking, there is no such thing as creation but only manifestation of matter in a modified form (Vikriti). Thus, if clay is made into a pot, the cause is not the potter but the clay, and the effect or product is nothing else than cause in another shape; production is only manifestation, and destruction is the resolution of a product into its cause. If clay is converted into a pot, it is clay still; and if the pot is broken and the materials ground down, it is still clay. The fact is that the clay never ceased and the pot never came into existence and then ceased. It was clay all the time, only it had undergone certain changes. But the Buddhist phenomenalism did not accept this view, holding as it did, that there is no such thing as existence: all is only becoming. The Sankhyas, on the other hand, hold that there is existence and what is called becoming is merely the successive manifestations of that real existence.

This tendency to evolution, inherent in matter, is due to its three-fold qualities (*Guns*)⁽⁵⁾, namely—goodness; passion and movement; and darkness—called *Sattva*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*⁽⁶⁾, qualities of matter respectively: of which *Rajas* as much predominates in man as *Sattva* and *Tamas* predominate in gods and

(1) Pingal was a courtesan who gave up all hopes of getting a lover and was then happy. *Sankhya Aphorisms*, IV -11, p. 292.

(2) *Ib.*, VI—7, p. 421.

(3) *Purush*—person, the Ego; *relief of the older "Dumf"* refer to ante.

(4) *Prakriti*—Matter.

(5) *Guns*—Attributes, qualities, peculiarities.

(6) *Sattva*—true, good, happy; *Rajas*—passion, emotion; *Tamas*—darkness.

demons. But so long as the three *Guns* are in equilibrium, matter (*Prakriti*) is dormant and remains unmanifested; but the moment their equilibrium is disturbed and one of the *Guns* becomes preponderant, the process of manifestation begins. This disturbance caused in the Soul (*Purush*), is purely mechanical, being due to their proximity and not to volition, like the attraction of a magnet for iron (1). This mechanical attraction causes a movement which takes at first the form of development and later, of decay and death. Matter then returns to its normal quiescence, till it is again disturbed by the *Purush*, when it re-starts upon its world-making, dissolution and quiescence in succession.

This manifestation of matter is subject to twenty-five principles (*Tattvas*). When evolution begins, it first produces consciousness or intellect (*Buddhi*), then *Ahankar* or individuality and then the five *Tanmatras* or subtle elements which are the essences of sound, touch, colour, taste and smell, to which must be added the five organs of sense namely, ears, skin, eyes, tongue and the nose, (to which is added the sixth—mind), five organs of action—namely, voice, hands, feet, organs of generation and excretion and five gross elements namely, earth, water, light, air and ether. These elements fall under two main sub-heads, viz., the gross and the subtle body, the latter comprising *Buddhi* and the rest, down to the subtle elements, which taken together form the *Purush* or the Soul, migrating from one *Prakriti* (corporeal body) to another and its action on that body determines its future and is thus the law of Karm (or action). In it are embedded the *Sanskars* or the actions producing pre-dispositions, which pass from one existence to another and are latent in a new born mind like seeds in a field.

Therefore, what passes from one body to another upon its re-birth is not the soul (*Purush* or Ego), but only its subtle elements. Equally what perishes with the body is not the soul or its subtle elements—but only matter. Equally again, what rejoices or suffers in life is not the soul but matter, though

(1) *Sankh Prave*, I—96.

while matter is undergoing that manifestation, an illusion that it is the soul that rejoices or suffers is present, just as an illusion of red colour is produced in the crystal through which one views a red flower.

It is the task of the soul to free itself from these illusions, which it cannot do until it frees itself from the bondage of matter. What then becomes of it? It is not absorbed in the Brahm, because there is no Brahm to receive it. The answer is as follows: "No soul is bound or is liberated or transmigrates. It is Prakriti, which has many bodily forms, which is bound, liberated and which transmigrates ⁽¹⁾. It must not be supposed that the dualism of mind and matter produces any real conflict between the two. The seeming conflict is due to their different qualities; while the soul is unchangeable, matter is constantly changing. But for all that, matter does not act in antagonism to the soul. It rather assists the soul in its liberation. It is likened to a woman who "as a dancer, after showing herself on the stage ceases to dance, so does Prakriti cease when she has made herself manifest to the soul.....Generous Prakriti, endowed with *Guns*, causes by manifold means, without benefit to herself, the benefit of the soul, which is devoid of *Guns* and makes no return" ⁽²⁾—that is, the soul when once made conscious of its detachment from matter, the latter ceases to exist so far as that soul is concerned, though it continues the play for other souls who have not attained the same consciousness. It is like a continuous play where the souls come and go—those satisfied withdraw, while others stay on. The former have obtained their *release from matter (Moksha)*, which the Buddhists call *Nirvan*, with this difference—that while in the Sankhya, this release is not possible so long as the soul and matter remain outwardly coupled, the Buddhists take the release complete as soon as the soul has withdrawn, though the by-play of life may continue, with this contingency, however, still present in the case of those who stay on—that the soul's

(1) *Sankh. Kar.* 62.

(2) *Sankh. Kar.* 59-61.

liberation is conditional and not complete till death. It is the difference between sleep and death.

This *conditional* liberation made the alliance of Buddhism with Yoge possible ; since Yoge suggested mental abstraction as the means to secure its detachment from the body, and this the Buddhists translated into the *Ādhyāna* or meditation which in its several stages insured the severance, till it reached the stage of Nirvan. Buddha himself had practised it at the moment of his death: "Then the Venerable One entered into the first stage of meditation ; and rising out of the first stage, he passed into the second, and rising out of the second, he passed into the third ; and rising out of the third, he passed into the fourth, and rising out of the fourth stage, he attained the conception of the infinity of space ; and rising out of the conception of the infinity of space, he attained the conception of the infinity of intelligence ; and rising out of the infinity of intelligence, he attained the conception of absolute non-entity ; and rising out of the idea of non-entity, he entered the region where there is neither consciousness nor unconsciousness ; and rising out of that region, he entered the state in which all sensation and perception of ideas had wholly ceased." ⁽¹⁾

This state is *not* death, though it is seemingly so. In fact, when the Blessed One had reached that state, the Venerable Anand cried out to the Venerable Aniruddh : " O My Lord Aniruddh, the Blessed One is dead." Aniruddh corrected him. There are some more stages to go through before the Soul is finally liberated from its earthly tie.

" Then the Blessed One, passing out of the state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be, entered into the state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness, he entered into the state of mind to which nothing at all is specially present ; and passing out of the consciousness of no special object, he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present ;

(1) *Parī Nirvan Sutta*, VI—11 ;

11 S. B. E. 114, 115.

and passing out of the consciousness of the infinity of thought, he entered into the state of mind in which the infinity of space is alone present ; and passing out of the mere infinity of space, he entered into the fourth stage of deep meditation ; and passing out of the fourth, he entered into the third ; and passing out of the third, he entered into the second ; and passing out of the second, he entered into the first ; and passing out of the first stage of meditation, he entered into the second ; and passing out of the second stage, he entered into the third ; and passing out of the third stage, he entered into the fourth stage of deep meditation ; and passing out of the last stage of deep meditation, he immediately expired." (1)

The obligation of Buddhism to the Sankhya system is, therefore, clear. Buddhism is by no means the exponent of that system. While it accepts some of its dogmas, it equally rejects the others. For example, while it accepts the agnosticism of Kapil, it cannot subscribe to his dualism, nor is it prepared to accept his bald concatenations, but builds upon them the solid structure of its own ethics.

Both the Sankhya and the Buddhist systems have however, taken Vedantism for their basis. They are like two streams that, after flowing into the Vedantic channel, have burst its banks and cut for themselves new channels ; and, after taking an independent course for some distance, become re-united with the main stream from which they had become parted.

In adopting this course, it must not be supposed that Buddhism had acted in ignorance. For there were those who opposed the orthodox tenets root and branch, and boldly asserted that there was no life but this life, and it was foolish not to make the most of it. Charvak was the founder of this school, though his views can now be gathered only from references to him by his opponents, still they are sufficiently pronounced to have brought down upon him the powerful battery of Brahmanical orthodoxy. Charvak claimed for his

(1) *Pari Nirvan Sutta*, VI—13 ; 11 S. B. E. 115, 116.

views equally divine inspiration. They are expressed in the following lines spoken by Brihaspati :

“ There is no heaven, no liberation, nor any soul in another world ;

Nor do the acts of the Ashrams⁽¹⁾ or castes produce any reward.

The animal slain in the Jyotishtome (sacrifice) will go to heaven ;

Why does not the sacrificer immolate his own father ?

While life remains let a man live happily :

Let him feed on butter even if he runs into debt.

When once the body becomes ashes, how can it ever return ? ”

He was the exponent of that materialism which said :

Preserve your wife, preserve your self,

But give them both to save yourself ;

There's other wealth, another wife,

But where is there another life ?

Brihaspati was the preceptor of the gods and his connection with this Epicurean philosophy is explained in the Upanishad as a ruse to destroy the demons whom he taught this false philosophy in order to compass their destruction,—an explanation which it applies equally to Buddh.⁽²⁾

But Charvak was not the only protagonist of materialism. For Schrader referring to a work called the Svasamved Upanishad says—“ it is inspired by the Mahayanist-ya-vañ—doctrine of vacuity and proclaims a most radical agnosticism by asserting in four chapters (a) that there is no re-incarnation (existence being bubble-like), no God, no world ; that all traditional literature (*Shruti* and *Smriti*) is the work of conceited fools ; (b) that Time, the destroyer, and Nature, the originator, are the rulers of all existence and not good and bad deeds ; and that there is neither hell nor heaven ; (c) that people deluded by flowery speech cling to gods, sacred places, teachers, though in reality there is no difference at all between Vishnu and a dog ; (d) that though all words are untrue and all ideas

(1) (The four stages of life, viz., Student-ship, life of a householder, life of a forest-dweller and that of an ascetic.)

(2) *Maitr. Up.* VII—8.

are illusions, yet liberation is possible by a thorough realization (*Bhavadvāite.*)”⁽¹⁾

The tag at the end is wholly out of keeping with the rest of the sentiments and would seem to have been added more out of fear of the consequences than as a datum of conviction.

That arrant materialism and rank atheism were preached from the pulpit is, however, clear from references to them by Buddh himself, whose mind (though not his method) was wholly opposed to that cult.

The life of Buddh shows that if he had been born in any age or any other country, he would have been still a great Teacher, though his doctrine would have been different. The dominant note in his life was human service; compared to it, he regarded all else as secondary. The main and indeed the only purpose of his mission was to find a solution for the alleviation of human suffering. It is that which made him leave his purple bed, and it is that for which he was seeking a solution. The only solution he could find was that offered in the current thought of the day. He examined all possible solutions, and then by an eclectic process lighted upon a scheme neither Vedantic nor Sankhya, but one in which he substituted service for sacrifice and selflessness for Self. In doing so he affronted the heirophants of the true faith, whose tenets he denounced and whose institutions he ridiculed.

Buddhism owes its inception in India to the same causes and bears the same analogy to Hinduism as Christianity does to Judaism. Both were protests against the assumptions of the hierarchy. As Jesus inveighed against the supremacy of the Rabbis, Buddh inveighed against the supremacy of the Acharyas. As Christ heralded and gave his lead to the Reformation of Judaism, so equally did Gautam create a new movement against the ritualism of religion, its ceremonials, penances and sacrifices ordained to insure salvation. And as Christ repudiated the mediation of the Sheliach, so Buddhism repudiated the mediation of the Brahmanical priest-craft. Buddhism was thus the Protestantism of the East.

(1) (1908) Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library, 300, 301.

But Buddhism was only a sojourner in its native land: it had shaken the roots of Hinduism, which it could not remove. But with great religious reformers it is always so. Jesus had preached his religion in Palestine, but Christianity could never expel Judaism. On the other hand, Judaism has expelled Christianity from Palestine. And so it has been with Buddhism. Both religions are exiles from their native land, though they have become world-religions. Verily, "Prophets are never honoured in their own country."

Buddh has been spoken of as a social reformer; but he was less a reformer than a humanitarian. He was not a religious teacher, even as religion was then understood. For he never cared to go beyond the depth of human reason. He was questioned as to his views on subjects such as God, the Soul, and the Eternal Life; but he declined to commit himself, contenting himself with the immediate object of his mission. But he could not have left blank places in his mind, and to the adepts he must have confided; he had, in fact, confided the resultant product of his ratiocination.

Unfortunately, we have no contemporaneous record of his teachings. But it is not surprising, since we have no contemporaneous record of the teaching of Christ who followed him six hundred years later; nor have we an authentic record of their lives.

In both cases, we have to glean such facts as we can, out of the conglomeration of tradition and romance, which in their colouring depict a type, rather than an individual. This is all the more regrettable, since the art of the historiographer is wholly unknown in India, and consequently, we have but a few contemporary references to the life of one who had by the sheer dint of his merit acquired a pre-eminence above that of many a king, and who on his death was accorded the obsequial rites of a universal monarch (*Chakravarti*).

The life of a man can never be dissociated from his work. This fact was recognized even by those devout disciples who have essayed to record his teaching by throwing it into the form of a biography of the teacher. But the ostensible

object of such works is to exalt the teacher and use his life as an aid to proselytism. But though such lives have necessary and serious drawbacks, still they are not wholly useless to the writer of a biography; since, experience has shown that many a legend is nothing more than a mass of exaggerated facts and many a romance contains, embedded beneath its obvious impossibilities, a sub-stratum of truth which would be lost, if there were a wholesale rejection of such materials. At any rate, the alternative is a life gleaned from such sources, or no life at all. Consequently, all writers on Buddhism have drawn upon these quarries for materials for their works. The present writer has done the same; but in doing so, he has followed a line of his own. He has collated and compared all the different versions and recorded only such as seemed to him to possess the back-ground of historical probability or circumstantial certainty. Even then, some incidents had to be recorded, which, though by no means answering to the test of historical casuistry, were nevertheless intended to possess a legendary or didactic value.

The materials available for his purpose are scanty. In the first place, we have the *Lalit Vistar*⁽¹⁾, an early work composed probably in the third century B.C. It depicts the life of Gautam from his abode in the *Tushit* heaven down to his Enlightenment, his visit to Benares and the conversion of his first five disciples there. This work was evidently composed under the ægis of the Mahayan school, as it refers to incidents which can have reference only to that school. One hundred and twenty scenes from this work were carved in mural frescoes on the stupa of Barabadur in Java about 750-850 A.D. The stone pictures were accompanied by explanatory sacred texts from the *Lalit Vistar* carved in the niches. An English translation of these inscriptions accompanies steel-plate engravings of the scenes in a work edited by Dr. N. J. Krom, Professor at Leyden University, from which the Legendary life in the ensuing pages is taken.

(1) *Lalit*—beautiful. *Vistar*—details; “Details of Beautiful life.” particulars.

Another work of equal authority is the *Buddh Charit* of Ashvaghosh⁽¹⁾ written probably in the first century A.D. This work is in parts more detailed than the last, and it carries the story further, upto the return of Buddha to his home some eight years after his Buddh-hood. From this date upto within three months of his death, there is a gap and the events of his forty-seven years of missionary life can only be gleaned or guessed from the incidental references occurring in the later records of his discourses, or those in the Jain or Buddhist scriptures, supplemented, to some extent, by the Tibetan, Burmese or Sinhalese traditions. This is a most difficult void in his life, of which the biographical account can at best be sketchy. The scriptures teem with details, but their sequence can only be fixed by conjecture and by closely following the trail of the evolution of his teaching. Messrs. Spence Hardy and Bigandet have attempted to systematize these details upto the twentieth year of his Buddhhood; but their chronology is based on the Burmese and Sinhalese authors who do not disclose the sources of their own information, nor is it possible to say whether the details given by them depend upon the authority of the *Pitaks*, or only upon their commentaries. The details are a conglomeration of possible events and impossible fancy and have, therefore, been relegated to the chronological table with the necessary note of interrogation. The account of the closing three months of his life is given in a *Sutra* known as the *Mahaparinirvan* with its Pali variation which has been translated⁽²⁾. It was probably composed at about the latter end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C.⁽³⁾ Similar or substantially the same account occurs in the *Mahavagga*⁽⁴⁾. We have, therefore, a vivid picture of the drop-scene. The Tibetan legends⁽⁵⁾ give additional details of the life; but they do not remove the hiatus which exists as to the sequence of events during the third period of his life.

The teachings of Buddha were oral, but they were memorized by persons who made recitation of the sacred

(1) Translated in 49 S. B. E.

(2) *Maha Parinibbanna Sutta*, 11 S. B. E.

(3) *Ib. Intro.*, X; XI.

(4) *Tr. Childers*.

(5) *Dulva*.—See Glossary.

canon their speciality. Some centuries after his death they were collected and reduced to writing, probably after the meeting of the third council under Ashoke in 250 B.C. They are the *Tripitaks* (or three baskets, or collections) which form the canonical books of the Hinayan school and comprise (1) the *Vinay Pitak*—the book of discipline for the Order; (2) the *Sutta* (or *Sutra*) *Pitak*, the book of aphorisms, precepts and discourses for the laity, teaching them how to attain righteousness—Virtue and Benevolence (*Dhamm* or *Norm*) in which are included the *Jaataks*⁽¹⁾ or a collection of stories of Buddha's previous births in the stories of old and folk-lore; and (3) *Abhidhamm* or supplementary philosophical dissertations. They are all written in Pali.

The Brahmanical scriptures were all composed in Sanskrit, with the result that the people had no access to them, except through the medium of their clerical expounders. Buddha conveyed his teachings in *populus vulgus* and exhorted his disciples to expound it to the people in their own vernaculars. In adopting this course, he could not have been unaware of the sacrifice of awe and veneration inspired by an unknown tongue, nor did he mind the diversity entailed by adopting the dialects as the medium of instruction. The fact is that two of his monks had actually complained to him to enshrine his tenet in Sanskrit, as they otherwise got distorted. But he reproved the suggestion, adding: "Monks, the word of Buddha is not to be turned into Sanskrit; let him who so turns it be guilty of an offence; I command you, monks, to learn the word of Buddha in its own dialect."⁽²⁾ The dialect in which Buddha imparted his teaching was Pali⁽³⁾, locally known as Magadhi, from the country in which it was spoken. It was probably little distinguishable from Prakrit⁽⁴⁾. Orientalists are, however, not agreed that Pali was anything more than a literary manufacture and it is said to have been distinct from Magadhi⁽⁵⁾; but this is not

(1) Sk. *Jaatak*, a Collection; from *Jaat*—born or brought into existence.

(2) Minayeff: *Pali Grammar* (Fr. Ed.) Preface XLII; Childers' *Pali Dictionary*: Preface, XI f. n. (3).

(3) Pali in Sk. "mean line" "row" or "series."

(4) Childers. *Pali Dictionary* Preface, VII (f. n. I); XIII.

(5) Kern: "*Buddhism*."

Mr. Childers' view who relies on the high authority of Professor Max Muller for the view that both Pali and Sanskrit grew independently out of an older Aryan speech, that Pali is decidedly later than Sanskrit, and stands to it in the relation of a younger sister. It was certainly the vernacular in Ashoke's time, as is evidenced by his pillar inscriptions and edicts.

The development and expansion of Buddhism after the death of the Master is more or less a matter possessing historical fidelity. It is a well-known fact that the Master did not appoint any one to be his successor. His whole life culminating in his farewell address clearly shows that while Gautam had freely moved and consorted with all sorts and conditions of men, he had remained and he died a pronounced, but unpractical idealist. In fact, idealism is the key-note of his entire teaching. He believed that his flock, obedient to his word of command, would remain firm even when the shepherd's voice was stilled in the grave. He was mistaken. He had propagated his creed by the force of his boundless enthusiasm. His own commanding presence and resonant voice, his fervid earnestness and eloquence, memory of the throne he had vacated and the sceptre he had exchanged for a beggar's bowl,—could not but fail to arouse enthusiasm for a cause which he had espoused and a creed which, though opposed to the fundamental instincts of man, was nevertheless a creed which possessed to the low mind many attractions.

The fact is that like the person of Christ, Buddha's personality was all in all. And while he lived he had ruled his Sangh with iron discipline. Amongst his numerous disciples there were many capable men who had abandoned the snug retreats of their hermitages or the *pathshalas*⁽¹⁾ to join the band of devoted disciples of Buddha. They had all been enlisted as privates: they remained privates up to the end.

The growing tension which this enforced equality between men, when Nature had not made any two alike, came to a head the moment the Master's eyes were closed for the last

(1) Schools.

time. Subhadra, ⁽¹⁾ one of Buddha's disciples, flew into an outburst which threatened to rend the community; "Do not grieve, do not lament"—he is reported to have exclaimed, "It is well that we have been relieved of the Great Master's presence. We were oppressed by him, when he said 'This is permitted to you, this is not permitted.' In future we can do as we like, and not do as we do not like."

Subhadra was, of course, silenced by the faithful Kashyap who suggested the convention of a Council, to which reference will be found made in the ensuing text. But the hand of the council could not stay the hand of schism, which grew, as even the memory of the Master-mind began to fade; and as the religion grew and in time successfully invaded the citadel of orthodoxy, it became necessary to compromise with the opposing forces, leading to the relaxation of several points of the doctrine, and the re-introduction of some of the discarded tenets of Hinduism, together with some form of their idolatry and a colourable imitation of their ritualism. Idolatry with all its faults is the most potent means of religious propaganda, in that it is an ocular demonstration of the dogmas of religion and by its picturesque and gorgeous ceremonials is an appealing instrument of conversion. Man accepts a new creed the more readily when his cold intellect is moved by the warmth of emotion, stirred by the sound of music,—the music of song, and the dazzling trappings of the visible gods and goddesses whose appearance upon the stage gives to the imagination a stimulus and to the mind a consolation, which the mere cold words of logic or of metaphysics can never hope to give.

It must have been, then, the pressure of necessity, if not the foresight of expediency, that brought into existence the Mahayan School. This school had to be started in Northern India where Hinduism had its strong-hold. In the Southern Peninsula the

(1) Dr. Oldenberg in his Introduction to his edition of Mahavagga says that this man was the Subhadra whom Buddha had converted shortly before his death. (See Introduction XXVI). Rhys. David, points out that this is a mistake since

the last convert was a Brahman, younger brother of his first convert Anna Kessana; while the complaining Subhadra had been a barber of Aluma,—11 S. E. E. 127 f. n. (1).

Aryan invader had made no home; while Burmah and Ceylon were virgin soils for the reception of the new faith, since the new faith had nothing tangible to displace.

Buddh had stated his doctrine with remarkable lucidity. Though it is now encrusted with ponderous additions, his own enunciation was both short and simple. When asked to give compendious expression to his views, he told them to follow his four sacred truths and the eight-fold path. The four sacred truths really stated the problem and the eightfold path suggested its solution ⁽¹⁾ in following the middle path between sacrifice on the one hand and sensuality on the other.

The first sacred truth was—that life was a suffering, the second pointed out the cause of suffering, the third, its cessation and the last, the path; *i.e.* the “Middle Path”—that is a path which, on the one hand, was free from devotion to the enervating pleasures of sense and, on the other, from any trust in the efficacy of penance and sacrifices. Thus, having eschewed the two extremes, sensuality and superstition, it counselled the eight modes of right living—being right in belief, aims, speech and action; livelihood, endeavour, mindfulness and meditation, ⁽²⁾ of which the first four were only obligatory on the laity, the last four being specially meant for the monks. This elaborate enumeration is neither logical nor exhaustive; but it is illustrative of right thought and action as alone constituting the “Middle Path,”—the measure of which is, of course, the Master’s voice. This creed may be condensed in a short call by the Master “O Ye sufferers, come: know why ye suffer; end your sufferings by right thought and action.” The reason why they suffer is given in the chain of causation which covers the entire field of Buddhistic metaphysics, while the right thought and action, its entire field of ethics. The two together encircle the entire creed as Buddh taught and as it grew after his death. It focuses and places in the fore-front his entire life-work; for it is for the sake of sufferers and to relieve their sufferings that Buddh lived and died.

Such a religious formula, so simply expressed, amounts to no more than the enunciation of a principle of elementary mora-

(1) *Dhamma Satya Pavachan Sutta*, 1—8; 11 S. B. E. 146-150.

(2) *Dhamma Satya Pavachan Sutta*, 2—4; 11 S. B. E. 146, 147.

lity; and so Buddha conceived it. He had never intended that those who accepted his advice and followed him should throw up their allegiance to their own religion. But those who had to give up their faith in penance and sacrifice, which was the Vedic way of salvation, could not reconcile their new faith with their old; still, in receiving the new, they were not bound to renounce the old; for, did not the old orthodoxy count amongst its main pillars such heretical systems as the Sankhya and the Vaisheshik, not to mention the nihilism of Ajit and the materialism of Charvak?

Such was, then, the Buddhism as the Master had taught and as he had left on his death. But the gathering forces of re-action which were powerless to face him, began to raise their strident voice against the new fangled creed. But this creed had substituted reality for symbolism, sacrifice of self and selfishness for the sacrifice of bulls on the altar of God. It had consecrated human service above human mortification—death by abnegation above death by self-torture. It is this which gave Buddhism the preponderating advantage over Vedantism. It is this which vanquished Jainism at its very inception. But the idealism of Buddha was past human realization.

Self-interest is the law of life; it might be curbed, but cannot be wiped out. The two great impulses to human action are centred in that Self. Men began to ask themselves the question,—why should we make all these sacrifices? The answer was found in a compromise with the old doctrine. It had to be popularized and while the four councils met to re-cast the doctrine, they dispersed without grappling with the main theme of agitation. The malcontents formed themselves into a new sect, who while retaining the old doctrine, accommodated it to the irresistible circumstances which faced them. They multiplied the prizes to the devout, filled up the lacunæ in the old system, added a spectacular side to their religion and let the passers-by see their new religion in action. It was a religion preached within the cloistered walls of the academy: it was now understood in the market-place. This is all the difference between the Great way and the Little way. The followers of the latter remained the

adherents of the old school. The former became the Messiahs of new Buddhism. In the ensuing text the differences between the two sects have been set out. But those differences can be focussed within a narrow compass.

Buddh had preached his Gospel to the monks. His view was that salvation was not possible in the midst of worldly entanglements. He who sought Nirvan must, therefore, retire from the world. This was his theory, though he varied it in practice; His monks who entered upon Nirvan even in this life were called Arhats. They could not rise higher or acquire any other status, since Buddhism recognized no priesthood, and at the head of the religion stood Buddh himself as its founder, and his spiritual successor, Maitreya Bodhisatv, the Buddh-to-be, who was still reposing in the Tushit heaven.

The Mahayan threw open the benefits and prizes of their religion to all comers, including the laymen who were entitled to attain to Arhathood, if they obtained distinction in the practice of the creed; and they held that Buddhs and Bodhisatvs were unlimited in number and their status attainable by any one who cared to rise to their height in the practice of virtue and the acquisition of piety. All Buddh's elder disciples and other notables in the faith were at once canonized and entered in the calendar of Bodhisatvs, whose images were exhibited for veneration or worship.

The Mahayans then differed from the Hinayans in four important details. (1) They threw open the status of Bodhisatv for competition to a layman without making it an exclusive prize for the monks, as in the older doctrine; (2) they multiplied the Bodhisatvs and Buddhs, elevated men to that status, and in fact created a new world of Buddhist gods and established their paternal relations with men below; (3) they added *Bhakti* (devotion) to mere meditation as the means of attaining Nirvan; (4) they enlarged the theory of the non-existence of Ego by asserting the non-existence of the constituent elements or the non-existence of things. This was their doctrine of *Shoonya* or "the void." These doctrines were gradually evolved but they are all mentioned in the Chinese translations (148—170 A.D.),

which show that they must have been fixed a century or two earlier. The Mahayan school itself gave birth to two philosophical schools of the Madhyamikas and Vidnanvadins. The former was founded by Nagarjun (200 A.D.) who denies the existence of individuality or the individual, but taught the reality and permanence of Dharm (Dhamma) which comprises all thoughts and actions, every thought, every volition, every sensation, sound, colour, smell and touch. Just as a chariot is nothing but a collection of parts, so man is only a collection of these elementary realities, material and spiritual, which constitute his pseudo-individuality. Apart from Dhamm men and chariots have only an ideal existence—an existence of designation.

The Mahayans did not denounce their elder brethren,—the Hinayan—whom they held to be equally working for their Nirvan by the shorter route ; but they differed from them in the method for attaining it.

These two schools and their sub-sects, some doctrinal, others local, have created a vast and varied literature, the bulk of which exceeds anything written upon any other religion in the world. Mr. Spence Hardy thought that “in size the Pitaks surpass all Western compositions”⁽¹⁾. Rhys Davids, however, calculates that the Buddhist scriptures, including all the repetitions, and all those books which consist of extracts from the others, contain rather less than twice the number of words in the Bible and a translation of them into English would be about four times as long⁽²⁾. Rhys Davids, was however, only referring to the Indian Literature, but Buddhism in each country has created a literature of its own;—that in China alone running into 2,213 books mentioned in the first collection (506—512 A.D.), of which, however, only 276 works are said to be extant. Some of these are merely translations of the Indian works, while others comprise commentaries and independent dissertations on the faith. Besides China, the other Buddhist countries, such as Japan, Tibet, Burmah and Ceylon have evolved a distinctive literature of their own; but their canonical books are, of course, translations of the Indian scriptures, to which, as in the case of China, there have been added

(1) *Eastern Monachism*, 190.

(2) *Buddhism (Eng.)* 20, 21.

local commentaries, glosses and guide-books of the various sects into which Buddhism has become sub-divided everywhere.

The general trend of these works follows the line of thought developed in each school, of which there are said to be no less than eighteen of the Hinayan sect. But apart from their sectarian or local tinge, the bulk of the Buddhist literature marks three distinct stages in the evolution of Buddhist thought.

In the first place, we have his Nihilism of pure reason, which Buddha masked from his exoteric disciples by refusing to go beyond the immediate purpose of his teaching. "I have taught" he declared, "what is useful; what I have not stated, let that remain un-stated" The old *Pitaks* reflect his thoughts and do not venture into a speculation about the unknown. But the *Pitaks* might have silenced the pioneer-followers after his death, and not all of them. For we find numerous references in them to the heretics and heresies—"believers in the personality of the Self" ⁽¹⁾, in which they had the support of the Sankhya metaphysics. Then there were those who, though maintaining its existence, were content to hold that nothing could be predicated of it ⁽²⁾. They supported their doctrine by texts of their own. Then, as opposed to the positivists and the nihilists, there was a third train of thought which ran through some of Buddha's own teachings and which was purely agnostic. It was the doctrine of the Great unknown and unknowable,—upon which Buddha preferred to remain silent, and he justified his silence thus: "Why has not the Tathagat taught his disciples.....whether the Saint lives on beyond death or not?—Because the knowledge of these things does not conduce to progress in holiness. What contributes to peace and enlightenment Buddha has taught his own,—the truth of suffering..... Therefore, Malunkya-putra, whatsoever has not been revealed by me, let that remain unrevealed, and what has been revealed, let it be revealed" ⁽³⁾. His immediate purpose was to find the cure for human suffering; and his doctrine was, therefore, mainly ethical. That it was not solely ethical is due to the fact that while dealing with ethics he could not wholly ignore

(1) *Puṅgula*—or "1 *Puṅgulacārin*,"
Puṅgul, "Self" *Puṅgula* "Speakers."

(2) *Anubhīlaya*.
(3) *Samyuttak Nikaya*.

metaphysics. But that it was the only problem, which engaged his best thought, is clear from his own declaration : " As the vast ocean, O disciples ! is impregnated with one taste, the taste of salt, so also my disciples, this law and doctrine is impregnated with but one taste, the taste of deliverance". ⁽¹⁾

Unlike the Vedānt or the Sankhya doctrines, which were complete by themselves and self-contained, Buddh had left his doctrine incomplete ; and it was incomplete upon a most vital point in his teaching ; namely,--what is Nirvan ? As will be seen in the sequel, this term was at first defined merely as a negative conception. Its positive attributes were subsequently added ; it let in the dual doctrines of *Atman* and the *Absolute* ; and then became indistinguishable from the Vedāntic dogma. In the main, neither the Vedāntic nor the Buddhist has much to learn from each other. The Vedāntic Absolute is Brahm, but it is impersonal and implies no more than cosmic energy. When, therefore, he speaks of the Soul's absorption in Brahm, and the Buddhist renders it as absorption in the " Void,"--what is the difference ? And when again the Vedāntist speaks of the Self as dissipated into the elements and the Buddhist denies the existence as a noumenon, where is the difference ? But the fact is that the unqualified Nihilisms of the Vedāntist and the Buddhist are the deductions of pure reason and neither was prepared to abide the consequence, the result being that expositors of both systems have striven to exhaust all the possibilities of speculation and conjecture ; and these constitute the multitudinous systems which, though professedly based upon the main doctrines of the two systems, differ as much from them and from one another, as the pure deism of Hume differs from the pious nihilism of Abelard.

The development and expansion of Buddhism beyond the shores of India, the modifications of the doctrine willingly made, or forced upon it by the stress of local sentiment, out of recognition to the vested rights or of the age-long deities to which the priestcraft stood committed, belong to the history of Buddhism which cannot escape our attention and will be found set out in the sequel.

(1) *Kulavagga*, IX, 1, 4.

CHAPTER II.

INDIA BEFORE BUDDHISM.

India, north of the Ganges, is an extensive plain. In fact, if one travels from Lahore to Calcutta, one seldom sees a hill. It is in this fertile plain, watered by the Indus and the other rivers in the Punjab, the Ganges and the Jamna and their numerous tributaries in the area now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and in the Province of Bihar that the first hordes of the Aryan immigrants from the passes on the north and the north-west settled down. And it is here that the scene of early Buddhism was enacted. This vast plain, in Buddhist times, was sparsely populated: its population all told could not have exceeded twenty millions. There were only a dozen towns of any importance—the rest of the country was dotted with villages, in which the inhabitants followed their rustic occupation of farming and husbandry. The staple crops grown by them were wheat and rice, the latter in watery areas such as the Terai of the Himalyas where the annual rainfall is collected by these mighty barriers on the north and poured down into the plain below, inundating the fields and manuring them with their periodical wash-aways. The northern tracts of the United Provinces and Bihar are thus fertile valleys for the growth of rice, and Buddha's father and family were engaged in the raising of the crop. This part of the country was then covered with forest; only cultivation clearances had been made, and the villages and the fields were surrounded by the forests of primeval growth, which disappeared with the increasing pressure of population.

When Buddhism arose, there was no paramount sovereign in India⁽¹⁾. It was ruled by republics and monarchies of which four were of considerable size and importance. And foremost among them all was the Kingdom of Koushal (now Oudh) whose dominion covered the area now occupied by the United

(1) Rhys Davids—*Buddhist India*, p. 1.

Provinces. West and south of it, a number of small kingdoms maintained their independence. Eastward it had already extended its sovereignty over the Shakyas. To the south-east of Koushal lay another powerful kingdom of Magadh—now Bihar or the country to the east of Benares,—with its capital at Rajgrih, which in 300 B.C. vanquished Koushal. In Buddh's time the king of this country was Bimbeshwar (582-534 B.C.), who was succeeded by his son Ajat Shatru.

To the south, there was the kingdom of Vamshas or Vatsas, with its capital at Koushambi on the Jumna near Allahabad, south of which lay the kingdom of Avanti, with its capital at Ujjain, ruled over by King Pajjot. These and a dozen or more towns constituted all that could be classed as the urban life in India. The rest of the country was dotted with villages. All the ruling families were, of course, Kshatriyas united by marriage. The clans into which they were divided have since lost their identity in other names.

They numbered about thirty; of which the Shakyas⁽¹⁾ appear to have been as numerous (numbering a million) as they were powerful. Indeed, the clan name itself connotes power. The economic condition of the people then was little different from what one finds now in remote villages. From the remotest antiquity the villages in India have been autonomous in their internal management.

The village itself is now the subject of private ownership, but in the olden days this right was not recognized; for the function of the owner now was then performed by the headman who collected the rents, and generally acted as the *pater familias* to the villagers. All their internal affairs were regulated by custom and decided by the village Panchayat or Council of elders. Each village had its own tutelary village-god and its priest. The villages were inhabited by persons of all castes, who followed the occupations allotted to them by immemorial custom. The peasants cultivated their own fields, while those of a better class employed labourers, who became by custom

(1) Sk. *Shak*—to hold power.



(3) Sarnath, Red Stone Statue of a figure—standing posture.

attached to the soil. These were the serfs of the soil. There was no slavery.⁽¹⁾

But service akin to slavery was not unknown. The fact is that the fair-skinned Aryan immigrant, as he poured down into the country, found it sparsely populated by a dark-skinned aboriginal people whom he easily subdued and threw into the servile class.⁽²⁾ These aborigines belonged to the Mongolian stock and their squat "nose-less" faces aroused the contempt of the northern invader. Thus Vedic hymns abound in scornful references to them who are described as "gross feeders of flesh," "raw-eaters," "lawless," "disturbers of sacrifices" and "without gods." But they had all been subdued or driven into the forest long before the birth of Gautam.

Caste as such had not yet taken hold of the people who were divided into two main groups, Aryans and Aborigines; and at the head of both stood the Kshatriyas or the nobles and the warriors, who had conquered the country which they ruled. These claimed descent from the Sun and the Moon, were proud of their lineage, "fair in colour, fine in presence, and stately to behold".⁽³⁾ Below them stood the Brahman, claiming descent from the sacrificing priests. They were, equally with the Kshatriyas, distinguished by high birth and clear complexion. Below them came the Vaishyas, who formed the bulk of the Aryan people engaged in trade and husbandry. And last of all came the Shudras, men of aboriginal descent, dark-skinned labourers, serfs and persons who were employed to perform or who followed menial occupations, such as tilling the soil, handicraft or service. Indeed, all spheres of low trade—such as barbers, potters, weavers, mat-makers, leather-makers—appear to have been relegated to this class,—whether they were or were not of Aryan extraction. Even below them stood another class—the Chandals and Pukkusas—who were treated as social outcasts.

(1) Megasthenes: *Arrian Ind. Ch. X*, cited in Rhys. Davids' *Buddhist India*, 262.

(2) Sk. "Dāsas"—slaves.

(3) *Dialogues of Buddh* 1-148; *Vin.* 11-4-100.

For his opinion *contra* See *Ib.* 55.

But caste, as we now understand it, had not then acquired the rigid immobility which it has since acquired. It was more or less vocational and flexible; and Manu himself classes the people into the twice-born and those falling under the head of commercial and servile classes. Inter-marriages between the twice-born appear to have been usual⁽¹⁾, though for the first marriage a Kshatriya must marry a Kshatriya and a Brahman a Brahman.⁽²⁾ But the laws of marriage were lax and love-matches known as *Gandharv* were recognized⁽³⁾; and one could marry a person seized as a prisoner in battles⁽⁴⁾, and a liaison had the same effect as a marriage.⁽⁵⁾ But even regular inter-caste marriages were usual, and the marriage of a Kshatriya prince with a potter, a basket-maker, a florist or a cook did not entail loss of caste.⁽⁶⁾ A Brahman, though belonging to a priestly class, was suffered to trade⁽⁷⁾ or live by hunting and trapping⁽⁸⁾ or as a carpenter.⁽⁹⁾ They are frequently mentioned as engaged in agriculture⁽¹⁰⁾ and as hiring themselves out as cowherds and even goat-herds.

The fact is—that the Brahman then had a lower social standing than a Kshatriya, in comparison with whom he was spoken of as “low-born”.⁽¹¹⁾ His claim to pre-eminence, even if made, was not then accepted. On the other hand, the Kshatriya from whom he had selected all his favoured gods, *e.g.*, Ram and Krishna, showed their ascendancy in the social hierarchy. Brahmans and Kshatriyas inter-dined as they do so still. But it appears that the earlier stages of the struggle for priestly supremacy had just begun in the life-time of Gautam.

(1) *Manu*, III—4 (Sir Wm. Jones' Tr.), p. 40.

(2) *Ib.* III—12, p. 41.

(3) *Ib.* III—32, p. 43.

(4) *Ib.* III—33, p. 43.

(5) *Ib.* III—34, p. 43.

(6) *Jastak*, II—5.

(7) *Ib.* V—22.

(8) *Ib.* II—200, VI—170.

(9) *Ib.* IV—207.

(10) *Jat*, V—257; Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, 60.

(11) *Jastak* V—257; Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India* 6; The superiority of the Kshatriyas was undisputed in the *Vedas*. For we are read in the *Shatapath-Brahman*:

“Brahmans formerly one only. It energetically created an excellent form, the Kshatriya, viz., those amongst the Gods who are powers: viz., Indra, Varun, etc.; hence nothing is superior to the Kshatriya: therefore the Brahman sits below the Kshatriya at the Raja-uya sacrifice.” (Muir's *Old Sanskrit Texts* Vol. I p. 20). And in the same work elsewhere describing the graves of the dead it provides: “For a Kshatriya he may mark it as high as a man with up-stretched arms, for a Brahman reaching up to the mouth, for a woman up to the hips, for a Vaishya up to the thighs, for a Shudra up to the knees.” (*Shatapath-Brahman* 44 S. B. E. 428, 429).

Literacy was not then general ; but writing had been invented, the alphabet being borrowed and adapted from the Semitic sources ; still, the writing of books had not yet commenced. All literature was committed to memory and the marvellous, indeed astounding, feats of memory were performed by those who made it their business to commit to memory a library of religious and philosophic literature. As an aid to memory this was consequently put in verse.

It is now agreed that the Sanskrit script was borrowed from the script of the Semitic tribes, who inhabited Babylon between which place and India there was a continued and extensive trade. This trade appears to have been carried on, both by land and sea,—by land, by way of the passes across Afghanistan, by sea, from ports on the west coast. The merchants were Dravidians who exported rice, ivory, apes and peacocks, frankincense and sandal-wood. The script appears to have been brought to India about the eighth or seventh century B. C. and the priests utilized it for drawing up memoranda on birch-bark, which was replaced by the leaves of the corypha and alipot palm, but never by clay-bricks as in Babylon. As writing was first utilized by the priestcraft, it soon became their monopoly till the Buddhists broke through it and widened its use by writing their canonical books equally upon metallic plates, stone-slabs and clay-moulds.

The Kharoshtri or Kashgar alphabet was introduced into India about 500 B.C. A Buddhist canonical book, written in that script with ink on birch-bark about the commencement of the Christian era, is still extant in the museums of Paris and Petrograd. But Ashoke's inscriptions on rocks and pillars, over 34 in number, are dated the third century B.C.

It is thus clear that knowledge in ancient India was disseminated by word of mouth. As there were professional memorists, who made it their duty to learn up and recite Sutras and books, so there were a large class of wandering hermits and peripetatic teachers of both sexes who made it their business to travel about eight months in the year with the sole

object of engaging in conversational discussions on matters of religion and ethics, philosophy, Nature-lore, and mysticism. Like the Sophists in Greece, they naturally differed greatly in intelligence, earnestness and honesty. Some are described as "hair-splitters" and "eel-wrigglers"⁽¹⁾, others were money-making charlatans; but, as a rule, they must have been earnest men; for they were everywhere welcomed and honoured, and special lecture-halls and rest-houses were built for their accommodation and convenience. They met their equals or their rivals there and discussions and debates were held and heard by the populace. They all belonged to or followed the doctrine of some recognized school of thought and carried their distinctive flags, as the distinguished amongst them travelled with a considerable retinue. For instance, there were the "Mundak Sevaks" or the disciples of the shaveling, "Gotamaka," the followers of Gautam, that is, of Dev Dutt, Buddha's cousin and opponent, who denounced Buddha as an easy-going hermit who did not practise asceticism, "Tridandika"—or the bearers of the triple staff—Brahmans who opposed the Buddhists—"Devadhaminika" or followers of the orthodox gods—the Sanatanists, as we should call them now.

As these and many more traversed the whole country, the question arises—which language did they adopt as the vehicle of their expression? It is obvious that there was then no *lingua franca* for India. There is no *lingua franca* to-day. Nor was the Sanskrit any substitute for such a language—classical Sanskrit was not then in existence and the Brahmanical Sanskrit was not understood by the people. But the Prakrit had then come into existence. The languages which the people spoke were probably Prakrit, supplemented and varied by the local vernaculars, which must have been more akin to the various local dialects still surviving. The wanderers must have been then, as indeed, their confreres are to-day, multi-linguists, and all their discussions must have been carried on in Prakrit or in the local dialect. The fact that Ashoke's inscriptions are inscribed in Pali does not, of course, show that Pali was the

(1) *Dialogues of Buddha*, I—37, 38.

spoken language, any more than the fact that the modern inscriptions in India are in English, shows that English is the language of the people.

Buddh had himself instructed his monks to preach to the people in their own dialect, which so far as the Koushal and Magadh countries were concerned, was probably Pali or Prakrit; also called Magadhi, from the country in which it was spoken ⁽¹⁾; and Buddhism would never have conquered India with such giant strides as it did within the short period of a hundred years, were it not for the fact that both its matter and manner of teaching went straight to the hearts of the people who readily threw up their allegiance to Brahmanism and embraced this faith, which became and remained a state-religion in India for a period of more than three hundred years.

The history of India before the seventh century B.C. is obscure and mainly unreliable. The two great kingdoms of Koushal and Magadh were, however, then well-established. Of these, the first appears to have been more important, and extended on the north to the Himalayas. Its capital was Shravasti on the Rapti, probably represented by Sahet-Mahet. It was about 300 B.C. conquered by and became absorbed in the neighbouring kingdom of Magadh (South Bihar), which was the theatre for the exploits of early Jain and Buddhist religions. Magadh was founded about 642 B.C., by Sisunag, or Sheshnag ⁽²⁾, a chieftain of Benares, who established his capital at Girivraj ⁽³⁾ or old Rajgrah ⁽⁴⁾ among the hills of the Gaya district.

The first monarch of whom any authentic account is available is the fifth king Bimbeshwar (called Bimbisar or Shrenik) who ruled for 28 years (582-554 B.C.) and extended his kingdom by the conquest of Anga (now Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts). He had married a daughter of the powerful Licchavi clan. He founded a new town of Rajgrih (now Rajgir), which Gautam visited after his renunciation and near which were his

(1) Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, preface XI f.n. (3) M'neyeff: *Pali Grammar* (Fr. Ed.) Preface XLII.

(2) Sk. "King of serpents."
(3) Sk. "Royal mountain."
(4) Sk. "Royal Palace."

two favourite resorts,—the hill known by its shape as the “Vulture Peak” and the “Venu Ban” (the Bamboo-grove).

Both Bimbeshwar and Prasannajit, King of Koushal were the lay disciples and constant patrons of Gautam ⁽¹⁾. Bimbeshwar was succeeded in or about 554 B.C. by his son Ajit Shatru ⁽²⁾ (Aj at Shatru or Kunika) who reigned for 27 years. He followed in the footsteps of his father and patronized Buddhism but appears later to have come under the influence of Devdutt and embraced Jainism,—which aroused the ire of the Buddhists who accused him of parricide. He built a fortress at Patali on the river Sone which afterwards grew into the imperial capital of Pataliputra (or modern Patna). His mother, as already stated, belonged to the Licchavi clan and he himself married a princess of the Kushal (Koushal) clan.

The Kingdom of Koushal ⁽³⁾ was, in the middle of the seventh century, great and at the height of its power. The kingdom of the Shakyas owed allegiance to its king. The ruler Mahakushal, controlled a tract of country extending from the Himalayas to the Ganges and from the Kushal and Ramganga rivers on the west to the Gandak on the east. Its further ambition was checked by the powerful confederation of the Licchavis, who were, however, defeated by Ajit Shatru, son of Bimbeshwar, who equally subjugated and annexed the kingdom of Kushal (Koushal).

The Licchavi clan who played an important part in Indian history had their Republic in Brij (Rijjis) (now the Mozaffarpur district of Bihar). Their capital was Vaisali, near Basarh, twenty miles to the north of Hajipur on the right bank of the Ganges, about 27 miles distant in a direct line from Pataliputra (modern Patna). Their country enjoyed the republican form of Government, being ruled by a council of notables presided over by an elected President (Nayak). They were allied by marriage with the Kushals on the one hand, and the king of Magadh on the

(1) Vincent Smith's statement that King Bimbeshwar was a Jain appears to be erroneous—*History of India*, p. 45.

(2) Sk. (“a”—not, “Jit”—conquered, “Shatru”—enemy) “invincible to his enemies.” He is stated to have got tired of

his father's long reign and killed him. But the story is disbelieved, being a pure invention by the Buddhists.

(3) Sk. (*Kushal*—safe), “a king who ensures the safety of his subjects.”

other. The wife of King Chandragupt I (322-298 B.C.), the founder of the Gupt dynasty, was a Licchhavi princess, and the clan is stated to have supplied a line of rulers in the Nepal valley upto the seventh century A.D.

The Licchhavis are said to have been related to the Shakyas. The Brahman writers regard them as degraded Kshatriyas; but modern historians opine that they were all Mongolian hillmen akin to the Tibetan and the modern Gurkha. The evidence upon which this opinion is based is the revolting practice, which they are said to have followed,—of exposing their dead which were sometimes hung upon trees, and their judicial procedure in criminal cases was exactly the same as that of the Tibetan. In the first place, these facts are founded upon tradition which cannot be any guide for drawing a historical inference. In the second place, it must be remembered that the Licchhavis have played an important role in the early history of India, and their very success may have led to the invention of a legend which the Brahmanical writers would certainly have improved upon, if it were true. But whatever may be the origin of the Licchhavis, the question is only one of historical interest. But the question whether Gautam Buddha was of Mongolian extraction—raises an issue which interests the entire Buddhist world. The evidence upon which this opinion is hazarded is again tradition, and even as such it is a *non sequitur*. It is said that the first Tibetan king was a Shakya belonging to another branch of the Gautam family, and that he was a Licchhavi and that the Shakyas were the Scythian or Turanian immigrants.⁽¹⁾ Now as to the first fact, if it be a fact, it does not support the conclusion; since a pure Kshatriya may have married into a Licchhavi family, but it does not make the family a Licchhavi. Then as to the Shakyas being of Scythian origin, it is a tradition which persists in the case of many Kshatriyas. That they were not aborigines is clear, but that they were Scythians or Turanians is merest conjecture, and in its origin it may have been worse—an invention.

In order to determine the ethnological origin of a race, tradition is never a safe guide unless it is supported

(1) V. Smith's *History of India*, pp. 48, 49.

by other facts. And what are the other facts here?—The Shakyas regarded themselves as a branch of the Kushal (Koushal) family and were latterly their tributaries. Now the Koushals are not classed as other than Kshatriyas of Aryan descent, and so must be their kinsmen, the Shakyas. Only recently it has been ascertained that the dialects of Rajasthan bear a close resemblance to those spoken along the Himalayas, not only in Nepal but as far west as Chumbi. Rhys Davids thinks that this only shows that the ancestors of the two must have been living close together when they began their wanderings to the east and the south respectively. “Both started from the Northern Punjab, and probably neither migration followed the Gangetic valley” (1). Then again, the fact that the Licchhavis exposed their dead,—is again a *non sequitur*, since it is not shewn to be an exclusively Mongolian custom. The ancient Persians did the same, as do the modern Parsis; but no one has yet suggested that they were Mongols. Indeed, if this were the crucial test, it disproves the very theory it is sought to prove, since the body of Buddha was never exposed, but cremated,—a purely Aryan method of disposal. Thirdly, Buddhism being the religion of the Mongolian race, it is natural to claim the Liberator as their own. But if this were a fact, the Brahmans, who had invented caste and were anxious to preserve its purity, would not have been the last to denounce the founder of the new creed, which had crushed their religion, as a foreigner and a Mongol for whom the Vedic sages had supreme contempt. The fact that they treated him as a Kshatriya would be conclusive, added to which we have the contemporaneous account of his features which could only be those of a pure Aryan.

As already mentioned, the term “Kshatriya” had in those days no greater significance than the term Brahman. Both were more descriptive of the clan, rather than of the caste, which had not then become crystallized into the rigid system it has since become. Such is, at any rate, the view of those whose authority is equally unquestionable. (2)

(1) (1901) *J. R. A. S.* 808; cited in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, pp. 32, 33. (2) M. Williams—*Buddhism* p. 21. Oldenberg—*Buddhism*, pp. 97, 98.

CHAPTER III.

FAITHS AND PHILOSOPHY IN BUDDH'S TIME.

It is impossible to understand the nature and extent of Buddh's contribution to the world's faiths and thought, without understanding the nature of the Faiths and Fallacies which confronted Buddh when he evolved his doctrine. As Gautam was a Hindu, and as such brought up in the shadow of that system, it is necessary to first examine the position of the Hindu in the seventh century before Christ.

The intensive study of Greek has naturally familiarized European scholars with the trend of Hellenic thought; but it is only during recent years that European scholars have found time to turn their attention to the language and literature of farther East. The reason for this neglect is not far to seek. With the advent of Christianity and its establishment in Europe, Europeans became naturally anxious to learn all about their religion; and as their Bible itself was written in Greek, they were attracted to the language and literature of that distinguished country. Its language had enriched the European languages, while its literature, at once varied and vast, gave to the scholar a double incentive of improving his language and enriching his mind. On the other hand, the literature of India was found embedded in a foreign tongue—a tongue the identity of which as a parent of the Aryan stock has only been established in comparatively recent times. And even then, its connection was remote and of no immediate practical value. Its literature was all embedded in that tongue, which was as difficult to master as it was difficult to understand. It was not, moreover, and it had been in all probability never,—a spoken tongue. The study of that language had, therefore, not the same practical value as the study of Latin or Greek. The literature to which it gave expression was the literature of an alien people, whom the Christians designated heathen, and to whom they ascribed opinions and views even more ridiculous than those held by the African savage or the Australian bushman.

The vast treasure-house of Oriental learning is, however, gradually being unearthed now; its principal books translated into European languages and a sober study made of its religious faiths. But, since Oriental scholars possess a religion of their own, they have not been always fair to the religions of other people; nor have they appreciated the eternal truths to which some of them have given expression.

Unfortunately, of all such religions, Buddhism has been the greatest sufferer in this respect: for it is a religion, which impartial research has now proved to have been the parent of Christianity: not only as regards its main tenets, but also in the life and history of its founder and the organization of his Church.

And even where the two differ, as they do upon points incidental to their history, Buddhism possesses an advantage; because its founder had placed before its history the torch-light of reason.

How far his reason has advanced the cause of Philosophy and how this ancient faith is able to withstand the shock of modern thought—is a question upon which we have to dwell at length in the sequel. For the present it would be sufficient if we examined the ground upon which the seed of Buddhism was sown.

It is now admitted that the Vedas are amongst the oldest of religious books in the world. European scholars are practically agreed that they must have existed in their present form from at least 1,200 to 1,000 B.C. ⁽¹⁾ "Scholars also agree that they contain a good deal of material even much older, and that the hymns in this last respect stand on the same footing as the Buddhist Pitakas or the Old Testament, or any other ancient Canon" ⁽²⁾. So Max Muller wrote that "the first germs of Upanishad doctrines go back at least as far as the Mantra period, which provisionally has been fixed between 1,000 and 800 B.C."³ and which he describes as "among the most astounding productions of the human mind in any age and in any country"⁽⁴⁾

(1) Rhys Davids *Buddhism* (Am. Ed.)
p. 15.

(2) *Ib.* pp. 15, 16.

(3) *Upanishad* I S.B.E. Introduction
LXVI.

(4) *Ib.* p. LXVII.

and of which Schopenhauer wrote: "In the whole world there is no study, except that of the originals, so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death."(¹)

The Upanishads which number close on 200 embody the Hindu system of Philosophy and Religion. For in those early days the difference between the two was neither well-marked, nor indeed even dimly appreciated; they were both treated as a part of the subject comprised in the term "Dharm,"(²) a large term which included duty of any kind—political, religious, ethical and social; it even included ceremonial observances and Law. Their views on religion were professedly rational. For had not the Upanishads said?—"Now that light which shines above this Heaven, higher than all, higher than everything, in the highest world, that is the same light which is within man."(³)

Starting with this, it postulates the existence of God(⁴) and Soul(⁵). "The Infinite indeed, is below, above, behind, before, right and left,—it is indeed, all this." Now follows the explanation of the Infinite as the "I": "I am below, I am above, I am behind, before, right and left—I am all this." Next follows the explanation of the Infinite as the Self: "Self is below, above, behind, before, right and left: Self is all this."(⁶) "To him who sees, perceives, and understands this, the spirit (*Pran*) springs from the Self, hope springs from the Self, memory springs from the Self, so do ether, fire, water, appearance, and disappearance, food, power, understanding, reflection, consideration, will, mind, speech, names, sacred hymns and sacrifices—aye, all this springs from the Self."(⁷) "The Self which is free from sin, the Self which is free from death and free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, which desires nothing but what it ought to desire, and imagines nothing but what it ought to imagine, that it is which we must search out, that it is which we must

(1) *Upanishad* 1 S. B. E. Introduction p. LXL

(2) *Sk. "Dharm," lit. "Duty."*

(3) *Upanishads* 111-13-8; 1 S.B.E. p. 47.

(4) *Ib.* 1-9-4; 1 S. B. E. p. 17.

(5) *Upanishads* 111-15-5; 1 S. B. E. p. 48.

(6) *Ib.* VII-25-1, 2; 1 S. B. E. pp. 123, 124.

(7) *Ib.* p. 124.

try to understand. He who has searched out that Self and understands it, obtains all worlds and all desires”(1). “All this, whatsoever moves on earth, is to be hidden in the Self. When thou hast surrendered all this, then thou mayst enjoy. Do not covet the wealth of any man. Though a man may wish to live a hundred years performing works, it will be thus with him; but not in any other way: work will thus not cling to a man. There are the worlds of the Asuras covered with blind darkness. Those who have destroyed their Self (who perform works, without having arrived at a knowledge of the true Self) go after death to those worlds. That One (Self), though never stirring is swifter than thought. The Devas (senses) never reached it,—it walked before them.—Though standing still, it overtakes the others who are running. Matarishvan (the wind, the moving spirit) bestows powers on it. It stirs and it stirs not; it is far, and likewise near. It is inside of all this, and it is outside of all this. And he who beholds all beings in the Self and the Self in all beings, he never turns away from it. When to a man who understands, the Self has become all things, what sorrow, what trouble can there be to him who once beheld that unity?”(2)

It will be seen that the starting main motif of the Upanishad philosophy was to establish the unity of the lower Self, which we may call for convenience—the Ego, with the universal Self,—which is another name for God. The merging of one into the other was its ruling principle.

The Upanishads (3) are a part of the Vedas, being a part of the Aranyakas, which began to be treated as the quintessence of the Vedas and are, therefore, included in the term *Shruti*(4) “or direct revelation from God.” They profess to be the work of no human hand. The Upanishads number about 200 and promulgate diametrically opposing doctrines. This is due to the fact that whenever a new school of thought came into exis-

(1) 1. S. B. E. p. 134.

(2) 1 S. B. E. pp. 311, 312.

(3) *Sk. Upa-near and Sadh*—to sit; lit. Sitting near (some one) to listen or for worship. Max Muller *Sk. Lit.* (All.

Reprint) pp. 163, 164.

(4) *Sk. Shrut* “Heard” (from God) as opposed to *Smrit* “remembered” (i.e. tradition).

tence, it composed an Upanishad of its own and tacked it on to the older Upanishads. One of the Upanishads declares that knowledge of God cannot be obtained without a Messiah: "That Divine Self is not to be grasped by tradition, nor by understanding, nor by all revelation; but by him whom He Himself chooses, by him alone, is He to be grasped; that Self chooses body as His own."⁽¹⁾ In another Upanishad⁽²⁾ God is reduced to a mere phantom: "Is Brahman the cause? Whence are all born? By what do we live? Where do we go? At whose command do we walk after the law, in happiness and misery? Is Time the cause, or Nature, or Law, or chance, or the elements? Is man to be chosen as the source of all? Nor is it their union, because there must be independent Self, and even that independent Self has no power over that which causes happiness and pain." The Upanishads return no clear or consistent answer to what is God. Some speak of Him as a masculine Self—implying that He is personal⁽³⁾, while others speak of Him in the neuter gender, implying that it is merely a Power.⁽⁴⁾ In some books he is spoken of merely as *Sat* or a Being⁽⁵⁾, while in others he is called *Asat* which is the negation of *Sat*.

Then as regards creation, the Upanishads support every view, theistic, atheistic, agnostic, nihilistic, and pantheistic, and the combination of some or all of them and many more, for which no compendious expression exists at present. The fact that this would lead to hopeless contradictions and irreconcilable differences does not seem to have perturbed the ancient thinkers, who ascribed their differences to localities, rather than to the rival schools of thought, of which there were no less than 1,180; and as each school⁽⁶⁾ claimed to have an Upanishad of its own, there must have been as many Upanishads as there were schools. That they could not have all come into existence *per saltum* is, of course, obvious. But this much seems clear that the Vedant Philosophy, by which all the schools were collectively known, marked an epoch in the progress of human thought in which the

(1) *Katha Upanishad*, 13—23: See I S.B.F.

(2) *Sheetavasthara Upanishad*; Sk. *sheet*—white, *ashva*—horse, and *tra*—to cross: "crossing by means of a white horse."

(3) *Bahrichas*.

(4) *Paithirigas*.

(5) *Chhandogya*.

(6) *Calpa Shukla*, Sk. "a branch, an off-shoot."

liberty of human conscience had the widest field for display. In this respect the Hindu religion was at one time the most catholic in the world and presented a striking contrast with the other religious systems of the world.

That religion began with the Vedic ritual, in which the obtaining of earthly happiness, and afterwards bliss in the abode of Yama was obtainable only by the offer of correct sacrifices to the Gods. The second stage was reached, almost simultaneously or soon afterwards, when release from mundane existence by the absorption of the individual soul in the world-soul, through correct knowledge (not conduct yet), became the objective. Here, therefore, the sacrificial ceremonial became useless, and speculative knowledge all-important. ⁽¹⁾ The Rigved, the oldest of the four Vedas, recognized a personal God, Prajapati,⁽²⁾ and Purush ⁽³⁾—Man, rather the world-man. This concept developed in the Upanishads into *Atman* or “Soul,” or Brahm or Spirit of the universe which pervaded the universe. The words “*Brahm*” and “*Atman*” are found in the Vedas, but *Brahm* is there used to denote nothing more than “Prayer” or “Dev,” while *Atman* in the Rig-ved means no more than “Breath,” wind for instance, is spoken of as the *Atman* of *Varun*. The Upanishads gave it a wider, indeed, a newer meaning: “The *Atman*,” it says, “is here all-pervading down to the tips of the nails. One does not see it any more than the razor hidden in its case or fire in its receptacle. For it does not appear as a whole. When it breathes, it is called breath, when it speaks, voice, when it hears, ear, when it thinks, mind. These are merely the means of its activities. He who worships the one or the other of them has not correct knowledge.....one should worship it as the Self. For in it all these—breath etc. become one.” ⁽⁴⁾

In the old Upanishads the doctrine is first stated that the material world is an illusion, a *maya*—produced by Brahm as a conjuror (*mayin*). This is repeated in the later Upanishads, in which the whole doctrine of the Upanishads is

(1) Macdonnell's *Sanskrit literature*,
p. 218.

(2) *Sk. Praja*—subjects, or created, *Puti*

—Lord or Creator: *lit.* “Lord of creation.”

(3) *Sk. Purush*—man.

(4) *Bṛihadaranyak* I—IV.

summed up in the famous formula—"That art thou," (1) which is explained to mean that the world-soul (*Atman*) and the individual soul are identical: "This whole world consists of it, that is the Real, that is the Soul, that art thou, Shwaitketu" (2), "Even as the smallest granule of millet, so is this golden Purush in the heart..... That Self of the spirit is my Self ; on passing from hence, I shall obtain that self." (3) This is made clear by Yadnyavalkya to his wife Maitreyi, as he was about to renounce the world and retire to the forest : " As a lump of salt thrown into the water would dissolve and could not be taken out again, while the water, wherever tasted, would be salt, so is this great being, endless, unlimited, simply composed of cognition. Arising out of these elements, it disappears again in them. After death, there is no consciousness." (4) In another passage of the same Upanishad, we find the following : " Just as the spider goes out of itself by means of its thread, as tiny sparks leap out of the fire, so from the Atman issue all vital airs, all worlds, all gods all beings." (5)

In other words, the prevailing doctrine of the Upanishads is Pantheistic. Life is an emanation from Brahm into which it returns. As clouds arise from the sea and fall into rivers, and rivers flow into the sea and are lost, so is Atman; it comes out of the Divine Atman and merges into it in the end.

Out of this monistic doctrine of the Divine Soul, permeating the universe, of which the human soul and the creation is but an emanation, there arose the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, and with it the doctrine of Karm ; both of which find places in the oldest Upanishads which Buddha adopted as his own.

All the Upanishads allude to or describe these two doctrines ; but the theory of transmigration is given in greatest detail in the Chhandogya Upanishad, where it is thus described : " This germ, covered in the womb, having dwelt there ten months, or more or less, is born. When born, he lives what-

(1) Sk. "tat tvam asi". (तत् त्वम् अस्मि)

(2) Chhandogya Upanishad, VI—8-16.

(3) Shatapath Brahman, X—VI-3.

(4) Brihadaranyak Upanishad II—IV.

(5) *Ib.* II—1-20 ; To the same effect Mandukya III—11-8 ; Chhandogya VIII—7-12 ; Brihadaranyak III—VII.

ever the length of his life may be ; when he has departed, his friends carry him as appointed to the fire (of the funeral pyre) from whence he came, from whence he sprang. Those who know this, even though they still be Grihasths⁽¹⁾, and those in the forest who follow faith and austerities, and of the Pari-Vrajaks, those who do not yet know the highest Brahman, go to light, from light to day, from day to the light-half of the moon from the light-half of the moon to the six months when the sun goes to the north, from the six months when the sun goes to the north to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to the lightning. There is a person not human who does not go to the Brahman. That is Soma the king. But they, who living in a village practise a life of sacrifices, works of public utility, and alms, they go to the smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the dark-half of the moon, from the dark-half of the moon to the six months when the sun goes to the south. But they do not reach the year. From the months they go to the world of the fathers, from the world of the fathers to the earth, from the earth to the moon. Here they are loved by the Devas, yes, the Devas love them. Having dwelt there till their good works are consumed, they return again that way as they came, to the ether, from the ether to the air. Then the sacrificer, having become air, becomes smoke, having become smoke, he becomes mist. Having become mist, he becomes a cloud, having become cloud, he rains down. Then he is born as rice and corn, herbs and trees, Sesame and Beans. From thence the escape is beset with most difficulties. For whoever the person may be that eats the food, and begets off-spring, he henceforth becomes like unto them. Those, whose conduct has been good, will attain some good birth, the birth of a Brahman, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaishya. But those, whose conduct has been evil, will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog, or a frog, or a Chandala⁽²⁾ ; on neither of these two ways those small

(1) Sk. "Householders," as opposed to
"Vanaprasths"—forest-dwellers, ascetics.

(2) Lowest class of Shudra.

creatures (flies, worms, etc.) are continually returning, of whom it may be said, 'live and die.' There is a third place."⁽¹⁾

The Vedānt doctrine expounded dualism, but it developed in the leading Upanishads into pure Monism with the super-added doctrines of metempsychosis and Karma. The Upanishads likened human experience to a dream in which the visions appear real, but disappear as soon as the dreamer wakes. The reality of the world depends upon human consciousness. As soon as it disappears, what remains? This doctrine was at one time upheld by Shankar ⁽²⁾; though later on he repudiated it and reverted to the realism of the Vedas. He said: "The perception is to be considered as similar to a dream and the like. The ideas present to our minds during a dream, magical illusion, a mirage and so on, appear in the two-fold form of subject and object, although there is all the while no external object; hence, we conclude that the ideas of posts and the like which occur in our waking state are likewise independent of external objects; for they are also simply ideas. If we be asked how, in the absence of external things, we account for the actual variety of ideas, we reply that the variety is to be explained from the impression left by previous ideas."

To all this we (the Vedāntists) make the following reply: "The non-existence of external things cannot be maintained, because we are conscious of external things. In every act of perception, we are conscious of some external thing corresponding to the idea, whether it be a post or a wall or a piece of cloth or a jar, and that of which we are conscious cannot but exist. Why should we pay attention to the words of a man who, while conscious of an outward thing through its approximation to his senses, affirms that he is conscious of no outward thing, and that no such thing exists, any more than we listen to a man who, while he is eating and experiencing the feeling of satisfaction, avers that he does not eat and does

(1) *Chhândogyâ Upanishad* I. V.—9-1 et seq. 1 S.B.E. pp. 79-82.

(2) Also called Shankar Acharya (Shankar, the preceptor); flourished 800 A.D.

not feel satisfied? If the Buddha should reply that he does not affirm that he is conscious of no object, but only that he is conscious of no object apart from the act of consciousness, we answer that he may indeed make any arbitrary statement he likes, but that he has no arguments to prove what he says.

“That the outward thing exists apart from consciousness— has necessarily to be accepted on the ground of the nature of consciousness itself. Nobody when perceiving a post or a wall is conscious of his perception only, but all men are conscious of posts and walls and the like as objects of their perceptions. That such is the consciousness of all men, appears also from the fact that even those who contest the existence of external things bear witness to their existence, when they say that what is an external object of cognition appears like something external. For they practically accept the general consciousness which testifies to the existence of an external world, and being at the same time anxious to refute it, they speak of the external things as ‘like something external.’ If they did not themselves at the bottom, acknowledge the existence of the external world, how could they use the expression, ‘like something external?’ No one says, ‘Vishnumitra appears like the son of a barren woman.’ If we accept the truth, as it is given to us in our consciousness, we must admit that the object of perception appears to us as something external, not like something external.

“But, the Buddha may reply, ‘we conclude that the object of perception is only like something external, because external things are impossible.’

“This conclusion, we rejoin, is improper, since the possibility or impossibility of things is to be determined only on the ground of the operation or non-operation of the means of right knowledge; while, on the other hand, the operation and non-operation of the means of right knowledge are not to be made dependent on pre-conceived possibilities or impossibilities. Possible is whatever is apprehended by perception

or some other means of proof; impossible is what is not so apprehended. Nor, again, does the non-existence of objects follow from the fact of the ideas having the same form as the objects; for, if there were no objects, the ideas could not have the form of the objects, and the objects are actually apprehended as external. For the same reason (*i.e.*, because the distinction of things and ideas is given in consciousness), the invariable concomitance of idea and thing has to be considered as proving only that the thing constitutes the means of the idea, not that the two are identical.

"Moreover, when we are conscious first of a pot and then of a piece of cloth, consciousness remains the same in the two acts, while what varies is the distinctive attributes of consciousness; just as, when we see at first a black cow and then a white cow, the distinction of the two perceptions is due to the varying blackness and whiteness, while the generic character of the cow remains the same. The difference of the one permanent factor (from the two or more varying factors) is proved throughout by the two varying factors, and *vice versa*. Therefore, thing and idea are distinct.

"Further, if you say that we are conscious of the idea, you must admit that we are also conscious of the external thing.

"And if you rejoin that we are conscious of the idea on its own account because it is of a luminous nature like a lamp, while the external things are not so, we reply that by maintaining that the idea is illuminated by itself, you make yourself guilty of an absurdity, no less than if you said that fire burns itself. And at the same time you refuse to accept the common and altogether rational opinion that we are conscious of the external things by means of the idea different from the things! Indeed, a proof of extra-ordinary philosophic insight!"

The monistic doctrine of the Upanishads was combated by Kapil, the rationalistic founder of the Sankhya⁽¹⁾ philosophy,

(1) The doctrine is expounded in Book XII *Shanti Parva* 20-49 *Dutt's Tr.* pp. 432-434.

to which references are to be found only in the later Upanishads. Kapil preceded Buddha who followed and elaborated his doctrine. Kapil is so mentioned by the Buddhistic writers and frequent references to him occur in the Mahabharat, the twelfth book of which may be regarded as the text-book of the system, since it has no Upanishad of its own, nor has it left traces of any writing to which Kapil may have committed his system. Indeed, the very existence of such a person as Kapil is doubted, in spite of the unanimity with which Indian tradition designates a man of this name, as the author of certain Sutras. The oldest manual of the system, though attributed to Kapil is, of course, a comparatively modern compilation being composed only about 1,400 A.D. The oldest systematic treatise extant is the Sankhya-Karika of Ishwar Krishna, translated into Chinese between 557 and 583 A.D. It mentions Panchashikh as the chief exponent of the system, who may have lived about the beginning of the Christian era.

Kapil's philosophy, as described in the Mahabharat, is relentlessly iconoclastic and essentially rational. Referring to the miseries of life upon which the Vedantists dwell, he chaffed them with the self-inflicted miseries of penance and sacrifice. He maintains: "Direct evidence is the basis of both inference and the scriptures. The scriptures can be contradicted by direct evidence. As to inference, its value is not much. Do not reason on inference only, whatever may be the subject. There is nothing else called individual soul other than the body. The capacity to produce the banyan seed possesses the capacity to produce leaves, flowers, fruits, roots and bark.... Likewise from the vital seed is produced the body, with its attributes, the understanding, consciousness, mind and other qualities. Two pieces of wood rubbed together beget fire. Likewise the material body produces the mind and its attributes of perception, memory, imagination, etc. As the loadstone moves iron, likewise the senses are controlled by the mind. Some hold that their re-birth is caused by ignorance, the desire for acts, cupidity, carelessness, and bent towards other vices. They say that ignorance is the soil,

acts form the seed that is placed in that soil. Desire is the water that causes that seed to grow.

In this manner they explain re-birth. They hold ignorance being ingrained in an imperceptible way ; one mortal body being destroyed, another originates at once from it ; and that when it is consumed by the help of knowledge, the destruction of existence follows, or the person attains to what is called liberation. This opinion is also mistaken. It may be asked that when the being that is thus re-born is a different one, in its nature, birth and objects of virtue and vice, why should it then be considered to be identical with the being that was ? Indeed, the only inference that can be made is that the entire chain of existence of a particular being is not really one of connected link. Then again, if the being that is the outcome of re-birth, is really different from what it was in a pristine existence, it may be asked what satisfaction does the person gain from the exercise of the spirit of charity, or from the acquisition of knowledge or of ascetic power ?—since the acts performed by one are to bear fruits upon another person in another state of existence. And the refutation of the doctrine would be—that one in this life may be rendered miserable by the acts of another in a pristine life, or having become miserable may again become happy. By witnessing, however, what actually takes place in the world, a proper conclusion may be drawn regarding the unseen.”⁽¹⁾

“ The separate consciousness that is the outcome of re-birth, is different from the consciousness that had preceded it in a pristine existence. The way, however, in which the appearance of that separate consciousness is explained by that theory is not at all consistent or reasonable. The consciousness was the very opposite of eternal, being only transitory, extending as it did, till the dissolution of the body. That which had an end cannot be considered as the cause for the production of a second consciousness appearing after the end. If again, the very loss of the previous consciousness be considered as the cause of the production of the second

⁽¹⁾ *Mahabharat*, Dutt's Tr. pp. 322, 323.

consciousness, then when the death of a human body is caused by a heavy bludgeon, a second body would originate from the body that is thus deprived of animation.

“Again, their doctrine of annihilation is subject to the objection that extinction will become a revolving phenomenon like that of the seasons, or the year, or the yuga, or heat, or cold, or agreeable or disagreeable objects.

“If, for avoiding these objections, the followers of this doctrine hold the existence of a Soul that is permanent and with which each new consciousness is attached, they again subject themselves to the new objection that that permanent substance, by being overcome with decrepitude and with death that causes destruction, may in time be itself weakened and destroyed. If the supports of a palace are weakened by time, the mansion itself is sure to fall down in the end.

“The senses, the mind, wind, blood, flesh, bones, one after another meet with destruction and enter each time its own productive cause.

“If again the existence of an eternal Soul is held—which is immutable, which is the refuge of the understanding, consciousness, and other similar attributes, and which is dissociated from all these,—such an assertion is subject to a serious objection; for then all that is usually done in the world would be meaningless, especially with reference to the attainment of the fruits of charity and other religious acts. All the injunctions in the Shrutis regarding those acts, and all acts connected with the conduct of men in the world, would be equally meaningless; for the Soul being dissociated from the understanding and the mind, there is no one to enjoy the fruits of good acts and Vedic rites⁽¹⁾.”

Kapil denies the existence of a supreme God as creator or ruler of the universe. He denied that there was any cogent evidence about the existence of God; still less was there any evidence that He had created and ruled the universe. He pointed to the origin of misery and pain, cruelty and injustice,

(1) *Mahabharat: Shanti Parv Bk. XII—§27.*

suffering and pain, decay and death which were unjustly apportioned and unequally suffered,—which a just and benevolent God could not tolerate, and for which, if He existed, He could not escape the reproach of cruelty and partiality. His existence must then be ruled out as beyond the pale of reason—what then remains? How is the existence of the universe to be accounted for? His theory of cosmogony strictly follows the line of inductive ratiocination. His argument proceeds from the known to the unknown till the ultimate cause is reached, beyond which he refuses to go, and those who do, he attacks by the same weapon of reason by which he has built up his system. To him the world is real, because it is proved by apperception. That world is eternal and has been and is developing, according to certain laws, out of primordial matter⁽¹⁾. It has had no beginning and it will have no end—though it will dissolve into primitive matter, alternating with evolution, existence and dissolution.

But what becomes of the Soul, while matter is undergoing its pre-destined course through these three stages?

Kapil maintains that the Soul or *Purush* remains only a passive spectator. It is the Supreme Spirit into which all individual consciousness merges, just as the rivers flow into and are lost in the sea. But just as the drops that make the river never lose their identity, even though they become merged in the sea, so the individual soul, if it may be so called, does not lose its identity, though it is blended with the cosmic soul.

“The psychology of the Sankhya system is specially important. Peculiarly interesting is its doctrine—that all mental operations, such as perception, thinking, willing, are not performed by the soul, but are merely mechanical processes of the internal organs, that is to say, of matter. The soul itself possesses no attributes or qualities, and can only be described negatively. There being no qualitative difference between souls, the principle of personality and identity is supplied by the subtle or internal body, which, chiefly formed of the inner

(1) *Sk.* “*Prakriti* or “*Pradhān*,”—primitive matter.

organs and the senses, surrounds and is made conscious by the soul. This internal body, being the vehicle of merit and demerit, which are the basis of transmigration, accompanies the soul on its wanderings from one gross body to another, whether the latter be that of a god, a man, an animal, or a tree. Conscious life is bondage to pain, in which pleasure is included by the peculiarly pessimistic system. When salvation, which is the absolute cessation of pain, is obtained, the internal body is dissolved into its material elements, and the soul, becoming finally isolated, continues to exist individually, but in absolute unconsciousness.”⁽¹⁾

Kapil explains it by postulating the existence of matter and soul. According to him, matter is unconscious but contains within itself the power of evolution (in the interests of souls, which are entirely passive during the process) while Karma alone determines the course of that evolution.

The rigours of this logical system appear, however, to have been relaxed by a method adopted for bridging the gulf between the seen and the unseen. For both the Sankhya and the Vedānt appear to have agreed on the practice of *Yoge*⁽²⁾, as enlarging the vision beyond the material horizon. The practice of *Yoge* or intense meditation was itself the survival of the Vedic *tapas*⁽³⁾, which was a form of asceticism combined with penance. It is not clear whether Kapil himself recognized *Yoge* as the gate-way to higher knowledge, but it was the theme of the grammarian Patanjali, who expounded it in his *Yoge Shastra*, written about 200 B.C. The fact that this work became known as the *Sankhya Pravarachan*, the name given to the later Sankhya Sutras, shows its close association with and recognition by Kapil's school as a part of their system and they are so treated in the Mahabharat. But the futility of the practice of *Yoge* without God, which is still regarded as the most effective means of acquiring occult knowledge and supernatural power,—must have become apparent to its early protagonists ; and Patanjali had to introduce in his system the

(1) Mac. Donnell's *Sanskrit Literature*, "Joining" or "union" (of matter with spirit).
392.

(2) *Sk. Yuj* (*Lat. Jugum*—a yoke.) suffering.
(3) *Sk. Tap*—heat, warmth ; pain,

doctrine of a personal God, though he clearly saw its irreconcilable nature, and, therefore, relegated his *sūtras* dealing with God to a place unconnected with his treatise. It was probably a forced concession, intended to stem the tide of speculative reaction. For, in his treatise Patanjali still adhered to the orthodox Sankhya doctrine—that the final aim of man was the absolute isolation of the soul from matter, and not as in the Vedāntic doctrine,—the union with or absorption with God. Nor are the individual souls here derived from the “Special Soul or God, but are like the latter—without a beginning.” (1)

As in *tapas*—suffering without concentration, so in *Yoge*—concentration without suffering—was the chief aim. Both, however, were believed to be conducive to spiritual exaltation, raising the Yogi above the narrow surroundings of the material world and vesting him with a higher power in closer association with God. The Yogi being an aspirant for wresting the secrets of the universe denied to man, was interrupted in his *Ādhyāna* or meditation by the powers of Evil, who by seduction, enticement, force or fraud, sought to disturb him by distracting his attention. This fact accounts for the legendary episodes connected with Mār's interference with Buddha in his meditation.

That Buddha was a firm believer in the efficacy of *Yoge* is clear from the tenour of his earlier life. From the moment of his great renunciation till the day of his deliverance, Buddha was in search of a key to true knowledge. He only found it in *Yoge*. But Buddha believed in *Yoge* as a mental telescope; he did not believe in its efficacy beyond chastening the mind by freeing it from material distractions. It was the pre-Buddhist view. But in later time and by Patanjali, *Yoge* was given a special significance and was maintained to be the chief means of salvation.

What is *Yoge*, then? Bhishm, the great sage, has himself explained it. “Freed from the influence of all pairs of opposites (such as, heat and cold, joy and sorrow etc.) ever exercising them in their own pure state, freed from attachment, never ac

(1) Macdonnell's *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 397.

cepting anything in gift, they live in places separated from their wives and children, without others with whom disputes may arise, and favourable to perfect tranquillity of heart. There, restraining speech, such a person sits like a piece of wood, killing all the senses, and with mind immersed in the Supreme Self by the help of meditation. He has no perception of sound through the ear, no perception of touch through the skin, no perception of form through the eye, no perception of taste through the tongue.”⁽¹⁾

Lest this state of concentration may send the Yogi to sleep, the rules to keep the consciousness awake are provided. The Yogi is to inhale, suspend and expel the breath through each nostril alternatively ; then again suspend breath, inhale it to the utmost and exhale it slowly, the eyes are to rest on the tip of the nose and the Yogi must sit in a squatting posture, which he must retain through the performance of his exercise.

The practice of Yoge became popular with the theory—that the soul, when weighed down by the consciousness of material things, cannot rise to higher things; that, therefore, it must be freed from the fetters of mundane consciousness and concentrated upon the thought of Brahm. It would then reach the goal it aspires to reach. Yoge is then the suspension of the ordinary functions of life. It produces temporary death, and as life is the barrier to the union of the two souls—individual and divine,—the Yogi attains that region of heavenly bliss by making himself dead to his earthly surroundings.

The veil being thus raised, he sees the unseen and acquires the larger powers possessed by the larger soul.

It is in the cradle of this system that Buddhism was born. India was not then in communication with the outer world. Confined by the barriers of land and sea, it was left to its own resources to devise its own life. Nevertheless its philosophic system, if purged of the fable and allegories by which it is overlaid, would compare favourably with the trend of contemporary thought elsewhere.

⁽¹⁾ *Mahabharat, Shanti Parv Bk. XII Ch. 145 § 3-6 ; 290.*

The only other country that can at all compare with the depth and profundity of the Indian thought is Greece and both place knowledge as the means to salvation. It must be remembered that Socrates was born in 469 B.C., that is to say, more than 500 years later than the Vedantists. The Greek philosophy begins with Thales (640-550 B.C.), who was a contemporary of Buddha, as he himself was a contemporary of Croesus and Solon. The quintessence of his thought is contained in the following maxim: "The principle (the *first*, the primitive ground) of all things is water, all comes from water, and to water all returns"⁽¹⁾. His conception of life was founded on observation and experience. He knew that the seed of life cannot grow without water and he concluded that water was, therefore, the beginning and the end of all things. His disciple, Anaximander, maintained that "primitive matter was the eternal, infinite, indefinite ground, from which, in order of time all arises, and into which all returns".

His own disciple, Anaximenes, conceived the principle of the universe to be the "unlimited, all-embracing ever-moving air," from which, by rarefaction (fire) and condensation (water, earth, stone) everything else is formed. His theory rested probably on the fact that he found the air surrounding the globe as necessary to sustain life. Pythagoras (540-500 B.C.) originated the theory of numbers. His view, or rather the view of his school, was that since all things existent had form and measure, the only quality by which they can be identified and distinguished was the number, which was consequently the vital principle of the universe. The Eleatics under Xenophon reduced their system to the fundamental maxim: "Only being is, and non-being is not all". This was the natural deduction from the Pythagorean multiplex system and postulated existence to be compatible only with dividedness in space and successive-ness in time. The system was developed by Parmenides and Zeno who propounded the monistic doctrine that being and thought were one; and so were the body and the soul. He

(1) Shwegler's *History of Philosophy* (Sterlings' Trans) 9.

regarded origin and decease, perishable existence, multiplicity and diversity, change of place and alteration of quality, all an illusion or "non-being"—what Vedantist had called, a thousand years before him, *Maya* or a mirage. Zeno, who influenced Plato, developed the same thought by denying the evidence of senses and reduced all beings into "One" which he vaguely defined in the Vedantic sense.

Heraclitus held to the doctrine of eternal change, the alternation of life and death, and that the one principle of life is dualism typified by the dualism of life and death. Socrates said of him. "That what he understood was excellent, what not, he believed it to be so; but that the book required a tough swimmer". Leucippus and Democritus (460 B.C.) founded the Atomic theory of Nature, holding that the alternate conjunctions and disjunctions of primordial atoms constituted the universe. His theory, like that of Kapil, was atheistic. But while India welcomed the freedom of thought, Greece banished all free-thinkers like Anaxagoras (born about 500 B.C.) and Protagoras (440 B.C.) who had to leave Athens because they ascribed all Nature to be the mechanical product of cosmic energy. To him mind was a mere hypothesis. The Sophists first led by Protagoras (440 B.C.) revived the doctrine of illusion and denied the objective existence of matter. To them "man is the measure of all things".

He closed the first period of Greek Philosophy. The second begins with Socrates (469-399 B.C.) and was further developed by his disciple—Plato, and the latter's disciple—Aristotle. Socrates never professed to propound any constructive doctrine of his own. His philosophy is, therefore, only an abstraction of his character as expressed in casual conversation. He too was a martyr to his own opinions, for as it is well-known, he was condemned for blasphemy and seducing the young.

Socrates contribution to philosophy is, like Bacon's *Novum organum*, the introduction of a new method for ascertaining the truth. He had lived his life, removing the cobwebs from

the minds of the young Athenian. His own life was a vivid illustration of his own teaching. For the rest, he shared the popular belief in the supremacy of the gods and the existence of heaven and hell to reward the virtuous and punish the guilty. He was a believer in the doctrine of Karm, for he consigned to Tartarus those who had committed great crimes, while those who had sufficiently purified themselves by philosophy were to live "without bodies, throughout all future time, and shall arrive at habitations yet more beautiful than these, which it is neither easy to describe, nor at present is there sufficient time for the purpose."⁽¹⁾

But he was not quite certain that there was such a thing as soul, though he thought it "most fitting to be believed, and worthy the hazard for one who trusts in its reality; for the hazard is noble and it is right to allure ourselves with such things as with enchantments."⁽²⁾ Socrates was then an agnostic in these matters, but reason failing, he turned to faith to make life agreeable.

But though Socrates founded no school of thought, his disciple—Plato (429-347 B.C.) did. In effect, it is but a development of the Eleatic idealism, in which he denies the existence of matter, but maintains the reality of its idea, that is to say, its subjective conception as distinct from its objective reality.⁽³⁾ He sees an undivine natural principle in the world⁽⁴⁾ and a malevolent world-soul.⁽⁵⁾ His view on the creative energy is not well-developed and is, indeed, not even consistent; for he regarded it either as an emanation of the absolute spirit, or as a verity of a self-existent eternity, or as nothing but a subjective conception and an illusion. "But his main purpose was to combat the theory of dualism and for this purpose he denied the existence of matter, agreeing in this respect with the monistic Vedantic view of Maya, but with the advantage all on the side of the Vedantist; first, because he had anticipated Plato by a 1,000 years; and secondly, because the Vedantist view is explained

(1) *Phædo* 1—Plato's collected works (Behu), 123.

(2) *Phædo* 1—Plato's collected works (Behu), 123.

(3) *Parmenides*.

(4) *States* 268.

(5) *Laws* X 896.

with a greater assurance and in greater detail, and it has not to make a futile struggle against dualism." (1) Plato's idealism was extended to his conception of God whom he regarded as also an "idea of the Good." His system did not allow of a personal God; for, his absolute idea being universal, his God must be equally so. But Pantheistic though his system led up to be, Plato, like his Master, subscribed to his belief in the traditional faith in God or gods.

The fact is that Plato's philosophy and his religion were two things apart, and he never attempted to reconcile them. Plato believed in the individual soul which possessed the same characteristics as the universal soul. Through reason it partakes of the divine soul; but so long as it resides in the body, it partakes of its character and, being subject to sensuous feelings and greeds, it descends from the celestial to the earthly, from the immortal to the mortal sphere. Body and soul naturally control each other. The pure soul, which has withstood the proof of association with the corporeal world untainted, returns at death into the state of blissful repose, returning however, after a time to the body. The ultimate end of the soul is its final liberation from its corporeal companionship, which can only be attained by the practice of virtue. The soul which had given itself up to sense, incurs the penalty of migration into new bodies, it may be—even into lower forms of existence, from which it is delivered only when, in the course of time, it has recovered its purity.

All this sounds as if it were an exposition of Buddhism. But it is not. It is pure Platonism and one is curious to know if there was possibly any exchange of ideas between the disciples of the Eastern sage and of the Western idealist; for, the Platonic theory of re-incarnation looks like the paraphrase of the Buddhist doctrine, between which and Platonism there is much more in common.

The Platonic doctrine received a vigorous attack at the hand of his versatile disciple—Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), founder of the

(1) Schwegler's *History of Philosophy* (Sterling's Tr.) 80.

Peripetatic school, who may be said to have emulated Kapil in melting all theories down in his crucible of rationalism. As a philosopher, he was an empirist and denounced Plato's ideas—as only “things of sense, immortalised and eternalised,” sterile and as offering no explanation for existence. His system corresponds with that of Kapil in that he recognised the existence of an absolute passive spirit and of the reality of matter and in the case of man, soul as its animating principle. Aristotle rejects the monism of Plato and would equally reject the monism of the Vedantic sages. To him the human soul is a *tabula rasa*, upon which are inscribed the impressions of its impact with matter. But as the human soul is powerless to act without matter, so is the divine soul.

His ethics lays emphasis upon the exercise of virtue, and not merely upon its knowledge. Happiness, to him lies in a perfect activity in a perfect life. Aristotle was the last of the Greek philosophers. After him their productive power declined and became exhausted with the decline of their national life. Zeno (B.—340 B.C.) founded the school of Stoics. To them, God was the active and formative power of matter: the world was its body, and God, its soul. In them there was a revival of the monistic doctrine, though in a different form. God ruled the world. All in it is equally divine, for the divine power equally pervaded all. Everything was subject to His immutable laws, and this law rewarded the good and punished the wicked. Their ethics, expressed in the maxim—“Follow Nature,” or “Live in agreement with Nature,” subjected human acts to the rationality and order of universal Nature: “The touch-stone of virtue is reason.”

Little need be said of Epicurus (342-270 B.C.), founder of the Epicurean school, whose philosophy was practical and defined to be an activity which realises a happy life through ideas and arguments. To them the supreme joy is the joy of spirit, produced by the imperturbable tranquillity of the wise man,—in the feeling of his inner worth, of superiority to the blows of fate. To them the tranquillity of the soul, the impassability of mind, was all in all, though, unlike the cynics, they did not shun plea-

tures of the moment. They know nothing of the moral destiny of man. To them God exists in the empty inter-spaces, in human forms without human-bodies, in perfect bliss, with no duty towards man. This practically closes the last chapter in Grecian philosophy.

Even a casual reader will easily discern the close parallelism between the Indian speculation and Greek thought. It is not easy to speculate how far the two systems were inter-dependent ; but the fact that Indian religious system is several centuries older, makes one feel whether one did not influence the other. But whether it is so or not, the fact remains that the structure of Buddhism was built upon the foundation of Indian Philosophy and that it owes nothing to foreign influences. On the other hand, there is the historical data for inference that in the fourth century B.C., when Alexander visited India, he carried along with him the gems of Buddhist thought and that in his passage back, he acted as the carrier of the new gospel which Buddha had preached and the superb morality which his religion had evolved for the happiness of mankind.

CHAPTER IV.

LIFE OF BUDDH.

From Birth to Enlightenment.

Gautam, who afterwards assumed the title of "the Buddha" or "the Enlightened," was born of Kshatriya parents, 622 years before Christ. His father Shuddhodhan belonged to the Shakya clan of Rajputs, who claimed their descent from the Solar race of the Gautams founded by Ikshvaku. The Kshatriyas or Rajputs, as they were latterly called, all claim their descent from the Sun and the Moon, and their clan falls into the solar or lunar dynasty.

Shuddhodhan was a chieftain of the small state of Kapilvastu or modern Bhinla, in the Province of Oudh, a town lying half-way between Basti and Ajudhia, about 50 miles to the East of Fyzabad and about 20 miles off the right bank of the river Rapti and about 100 miles to the north of Benares. The geographical configuration of the country must have undergone but little change since the days of Gautam.

The country for miles and miles is a rolling plain, abutted on the North by the outskirts of the Himalayas, the annual washings from which have given the surface soil a dark loamy colour in which rice is still the staple crop of the country, while the clusters of tall stately sal-trees testify to the allusion that Gautam was born, married and died in the shade of a sal-grove. The sal is a forest-tree and its timber has no value beyond being used for rafters, beams and for railway-sleepers. It presents a contrast with the ever-green mango which grows in great profusion and presents a pleasant sight of thick and shapely canopy of deep green foliage. The other trees which one notices as variegating the monotony of the plain are the tamarind and peepal. They also grow to a considerable height; but while the tamarind sheds its diminutive foliage in

summer and the tree is not even in the best of seasons restful, the mango and the peepal are both giants of the plain, under whose cool arborous shade the weary traveller and cattle alike rest in the scorching heat of the summer. Of these two trees, the peepal is sacred to Hinduism, though like the tamarind, which is not sacred, it is believed to be the abode of evil spirits.

The sal tree has no place in Hindu mythology ; but being a tree which abounds in the *Cis-Himalayan* plains associated with the exploits of Buddha, it is mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures. The climate of the country round about the birth-place of Buddha is like that of any place in Northern India : cold in winter and extremely hot in summer. The year is divided into three seasons—each of four months' duration,—namely winter, summer and the rains. The first season lasts from October to March, the second from March to June, and the third from June to October. The temperature in the height of the cold weather descends to about 40°F. and in places, to the freezing point, while in summer it rises even up to 110°F. But the heat in the country round about Gorakhpur is comparatively subdued, and is free from the hot winds which blow like a blast from the furnace in, more southern regions. The inhabitants of this area are Hindus, possessing the pure Aryan type of features ; though as one goes up north on the outskirts of Nepal, one notices an admixture of the Aryan and the Mongolian blood, while in Nepal this admixture becomes pronouncedly marked.

The Shakyas,⁽¹⁾ to which the family belonged, appear to have been a powerful people, while Shuddhodhan,⁽²⁾ if his name is any indication of his character, had acquired the reputation for fair dealing by his tenantry. It is, perhaps, not generally known outside the confines of India that landed-proprietors and persons of opulence in India often acquire a sobriquet, which conveys to the people their out-

(1) *Sk. Shak-*—to be powerful; but there is another explanation. *Sak* is the name for the *sal* tree (*Shorea robusta*) in the forest of which Oshak (Okkak) founder of the clan had settled down. Buddha himself

mentions Okkak to be his ancestor who lived on the slopes of the Himalayas in a Salgrove :—*Dialogues* 1—109 ; *M. Vastu* 1—351.

(2) *Sk. Shuddh-*—pure ; *odun*—rice.

standing quality and which, as often as not, takes the place of the birth name in popular parlance. Shuddhodhan was one such name. The town of Kapilvastu⁽¹⁾ itself was so named. He appears to have been one of the four brothers ruling over a territory about fifty miles in length and thirty to forty miles in width.⁽²⁾ The Shakyas were not only a powerful but a numerous clan, and an old tradition exists that Buddha had 80,000 families of relatives on the father's side and an equal number on the mother's side.⁽³⁾ Allowing six or seven to a family, including the dependants, this would make a total of about a million persons in the Shakya territory. Dr. Rhys Davids thinks that "though the figure is purely traditional and at best a round number (and not uninfluenced by the mystic value attached to it), it is perhaps not so very far from what we might expect"⁽⁴⁾.

It must be remembered that in these early days the Hindus had not become rigidly divided by caste, though the Kshatriyas, as the nobles, had a social status above that of the Brahmans,⁽⁵⁾ and it would be more correct to speak of them as a clan or a family or *Kul*, since the basis of social cohesion was relationship. "The exact use of the term did not exist till long afterwards,"⁽⁶⁾ and when it did come into being, it was but another name for clan. The caste-system, in any proper or exact use of the term, did not come into existence till long afterwards, and when it did come into existence, it was, so far as the Kshatriyas were concerned, but another name for clan. But "it is no more accurate to speak of caste, at Buddha's time in India, than it would be to speak of it at the same time, in Italy or Greece. There is no word even for caste. The words often wrongly rendered by that modern expression (itself derived from a Portuguese word)

(1) Sk. *Kapil-red Vastu-earth* i.e. "of red earth." The present writer found no trace of red earth; but Swinton (p. 33) mentions "red spots resembling carbonate of iron" in the sandy beds under the surface of the yellow earth; and Martin (1-203) says of the Gorakhpur District: "No soil of a red colour was observed on the surface, although earth of this kind may be produced by digging," to which Oldenberg adds: "This is quite sufficient if we consider the changes caused in the

earth's surface by inundations in the course of more than 2000 years, to explain the same" *1 Buddh f.n.* pp. 99, 100.

(2) Rhys Davids' "*Buddhist India*," 20.

(3) Buddhaghosh—"Dialogues of Buddha"—147 note; cited in Rhys Davids' "*Buddhist India*" 18.

(4) "*Buddhist India*" pp. 18, 19.

(5) See 46 ante; "*Buddhist India*," 61.

(6) *Buddhist India*, 62.

have nothing to do with the question, but do not mean caste." (1)

Shuddhodhan, the father of Gautam, was one of the five sons of Sinhahanu, a ruling prince of Kapil, in feudal alliance with the king of Koushal. He had at least two wives by whom he had three sons. His family was closely related to the neighbouring prince of Koli by frequent inter-marriages, it being the rule for the two families to exchange children in marriages.

The Tibetan legends, confirmed by Buddh (2), trace Gautam's history to a remote ancestor Maheshwar-Sen who reigned in Kushinagar. He was succeeded by his descendant Karnik, who had two sons Gautam and Bharadwaj. Gautam renounced the world and took to asceticism, whereupon Bharadwaj succeeded him. On his dying issueless his nephew Ikshvaku became king. Ikshvaku was one of the two sons of Gautam found in a sugar plantation (3) and brought up by his preceptor Krishna Varna, later on known as Kanak Varna. One hundred of his descendants reigned in Patal, the last of which was Ikshvaku Virudhak. The following genealogy is compiled from the history of his descendants. This Ikshvaku was the father of four sons, when he married again on condition that if his wife bore a son, he should be a king. After a while, she had a son named either Rajyanand or Janta, who was accordingly declared his successor, and by way of precaution, all the four sons by the first wife were exiled. They took with them their sisters and built huts on the banks of the Ganges, where they lived by hunting. Following the advice of a sage Kapil, (who, as Buddh declared, was he himself in a previous birth) who had welcomed them, they married their sisters; (4) and they settled down on land given by him on which they built a town which they named Kapilvastu or ("The soil of Kapil"). King Virudhak asked one day what had become of his exiled sons and his courtiers told him of their successful exploits, whereupon he exclaimed—"The daring young men! the daring young men", and from this day they became known as the Shakyas (5). When they

(1) *Buddhist India* 62.

(2) "*Jantak*" Rys. Davids p. 65.

(3) "*Ikshvaku*" means "sugar-cane plantation."

(4) The legend says "by different mothers," but the tale mentions only two wives.

(5) *Legende* 9-13 VI, Tibetan.

became numerous, they built another town on an adjacent spot made known to them by a Dev, which they named Devadah, ⁽¹⁾ afterwards known also as Koli, ⁽²⁾ with whose families it became customary for the Shakyas to inter-marry. They had decided to adhere to monogamy, but an exception was occasionally made by permitting polygamy, as in the case of Shuddhodhan, who as a young prince, had been sent out by his father to subdue the Pandava hill-tribe, who had been raiding his territory.

Beal opines that the Shakyas were in their origin Scythians, who conquered Assyria and Darius, and subsequently the whole Eastern world under Timur and Changez Khan. He bases his inference on four facts—*first*, that the Scythians were so called because they were famous archers and have been so mentioned by Herodotus ⁽³⁾. Lenormant says that the word is derived from the Gothic word "*Skiatha*" an archer; ⁽⁴⁾ *secondly*, they venerated their ancestors' tombs; ⁽⁵⁾ *thirdly*, they erected stupas over their graves; and *fourthly*, that Buddha had left explicit directions that he should be buried according to the old system of Chakravartis or "Wheel Kings." ⁽⁶⁾ But these reasons do not appear even plausible, much less conclusive; since, the Kshatriyas, who are professional warriors, must be equally good archers, while ancestor-worship is a common feature of the East and extends alike both to Aryans and Mongolians; while the erection of stupas was consequent on a royal funeral accorded to Chakravartis, which is as much a Hindu as a Kshatriya institution. Moreover, the fact that Buddha prided himself upon being an Arya and a Kshatriya disposes of the conjecture as to his ancestry.

The annexed genealogical tree shows Buddha's close connections as also Siddhartha's other relations.

⁽¹⁾ Beal "*Romantic Legend*" 23:
'Jataka'-Ry. Davids 65.

⁽²⁾ Spence Hardy 140.

⁽³⁾ Herodotus 1-103, 106.

⁽⁴⁾ Lenormant II—127.

⁽⁵⁾ Herodotus IV—127.

⁽⁶⁾ Beal's "*Catena*"—Ch II—126—130.

Siddharth, otherwise known as Gautam, and afterwards the Buddha, ⁽¹⁾ was apparently the only son of his father, born of Maya Devi—daughter of Suprabuddh—who died only seven days after her confinement. The care of the child devolving on her sister Prajapati who acted as his step-mother, as she was also the co-wife of the King, and had by him a son and a daughter. The *Lalit Vistar* thus describes Gautam's conception: "When the winter was over, in the month of Baishakh, the Bodhisatv descended from the beautiful Tusit abode, his head cochineal coloured, teeth streaked with gold, complete with all limbs and parts of limbs and faultless in every organ." The only fact of historical value is the month of conception, so that in ordinary course Gautam must have been born in January,⁽²⁾ though Buddhists now observe the full moon day of Baishakh as his birthday for celebration.

Maya dreamt of the entry of the white elephant into her womb, sent for the King and informed him of it. He sent for the Brahmans who interpreted the dream to her as follows:—"A son shall be born unto thee, his body adorned with tokens, worthy descendant of the royal race, a noble ruler of the world. When he forsakes love, royal power and palace, and without giving any more thought to them, wanders forth in pity for the whole world, he will become a Buddha, to be honoured by the three worlds and he will make glad the universe with the marvellous nectar of immortality."⁽³⁾ In due course, Gautam was born in one of the garden-palaces,

(1) Other names and titles were bestowed on him by which he is referred to in the scriptures: For example, he is referred to as—

1. *Aditya Bandhu* (*Aditya*—Sun, *Bandhu*—kinsman—"Kinsman of the Sun.")

2. *Ashram Saran* (*Ashrama* *Sharana*—"Refuge of the Refugees.")

3. *Bhagwat* (The Lord)

4. *Bhargav* (*Bhargavas*—"The Blessed Lord.")

5. *Chakravarti* ("Universal monarch," "monarch of the globe.")

6. *Jin* (*Jina*—conqueror).

7. *Maha purush*—Great man.

8. *Mahavir* (*Maha*—great, *Vir*—hero),

9. *Shakyamuni* (or Sage of the Shakya clan).

10. *Shaky Sinha* ("Lion of the Shakyas").

11. *Shast* (*Shasta*—"The Teacher.")

12. *Siddharth* ("One who has fulfilled the object" of his coming).

13. *Sraman* (*Samano*—"The ascetic.")

14. *Svagat* ("Welcome.")

15. *Tathagata* (*Tatha*—the same, *Gata*—goes—"One who comes and goes as his predecessors, i.e. the Buddhas).

(2) Gautam born after 10 months; *Ib.* p. 27.

(3) *Lalit Vistar* 22-23.

known as the Lumbini park of the King.⁽¹⁾ Hearing of his birth a great and aged sage—by name Asit—accompanied by his sister's son—Nardatt—came to see the child and saw in him the thirty-two chief signs and eighty additional signs of the future deliverer of the world. The birth of the prince was made the occasion of great rejoicings in the town which was decorated, and through the streets, sprinkled with perfumes and strewn with flowers, he was taken to the temple to be presented to the gods whose images are said to have come to life and which threw themselves upon the infant's feet.

In due course the child was put to school under the tutelage of Vishwamitr⁽²⁾ who must have imbued him with sacred learning which children of the twice-born were privileged to receive. His studies would necessarily include a study of the Vedas, which children of the highest caste and of noble houses were privileged to recite by heart, in addition to which they would be taught grammar and arithmetic: writing was then taught on wooden slates, in his case, made of sandal wood, of a rich colour edged with gold and encrusted with jewels.⁽³⁾ His fellow-students were sons of Councillors, with three of whom, as he grew older, he went out to see a village of farmers, where he roamed about here and there, aimless, alone, and without a companion, and espying a Jambu tree in the forest, he sat down his legs crossed, in meditation.

The King took this to indicate the young prince's inclination; and in order to break him off his newly formed habit, he cast about for a suitable bride. Several eligible maidens were found; but as the young Prince was not easy to please, he was requested to make his own choice. Five hundred beautiful girls

(1) It seems her father had requested the king to "let the Queen come and give birth here." *M. Vastu II*—18; "A Hindu temple close by now contains a representation in stone of the Birth of Buddha from the side of Queen Maya." *Thomas life 19*; Ashoke had a pillar erected to commemorate the event; and freed Lumbini from taxes and reduced rent to only an eighth part of the produce—Hultzsch "*Inscriptions of Ashoke*" 169.

Lumbini, now called Rummendei, a pillar discovered by Dr. Fuhrer on 1st

December 1926, nine feet above the ground. Its inscription, which was clear, stated by Ashoke to commemorate the birth-place of Gautam Buddha.

(2) The above quotations are from the *Lalit Vistar* which depicts the life of Buddha in frescoes at Brarbudar in Java. The frescoes are religious in their character and depict the life as depicted by the devout. It will be only referred to hereafter wherever a fact of historical value can be gleaned out of it.

(3) *Lalit Vistar*, 43.

paraded before him, but he dismissed them all with costly jewels. One amongst them, who came late, was Gopi, the daughter of Dandapani of the Shakya clan—his own cousin. She looked Gautam in the face after he had given away all the magnificent ornaments, then, with a merry look she said: "Prince, what have I done that you despise me?" To which the Prince replied: "I don't despise you but, you came last of all." And so saying, he took from his finger a costly ring and gave it to her. She was thus selected to be his wife; but her father objected to her marrying a man who had never shewn any proficiency in learning or sport. Gautam's father asked him if he was able to show any proficiency, and on the son declaring his ability, he fixed a date and caused it to be proclaimed throughout the city by the ringing of bells: "In seven more days shall the Prince shew his skill. Let all those exercised in all skill assemble together."

On the appointed day, the first person to appear on the scene was his own cousin Dev Datt. This gentleman was his early rival and life-long enemy. On this occasion he was beside himself with jealousy, and seeing a white elephant of great size brought into the city, he laid hold of it by the trunk with his left hand and killed it with one blow of the right. Then came after him Prince Sundarnand, who asked the multitude who had killed the elephant. They named Dev Datt. "It is an evil deed of Dev Datt" he exclaimed, and seizing the carcass of the animal by the tail he threw it outside the city gate. Gautam came next and made a similar inquiry: "Who has killed it?" The crowd answered, "Dev Datt." "This is an evil deed of Dev Datt. And by whom was it dragged outside the gate?" They replied, "By Sundarnand." "That" said the Prince, "is a good deed of Sundarnand. Yet this beast hath such a great carcass that when it rots, it will fill the whole city with stench." Then standing on the carriage, he put out one foot to the ground; and with his great toe lifted up the elephant by the tail, and hurled it over seven walls and seven moats, till it was a Kose (2 miles) distant from the city.

There were 500 other Shakya youths against whom Gautam successfully competed in calligraphy and arithmetic, archery and wrestling. Dandapani was satisfied; and so was Gopi, who had been watching the sports unveiled—for which she was reproved; but she retorted that those who had their senses under control required no veil—which satisfied King Shuddhodhan. This episode is instructive in that it shows that women in Buddha's time usually remained veiled from their elder relations, and respectable strangers, e.g., the father-in-law, the husband's elder brother (but not his younger brother) and the rest. That Gopi appeared unveiled before a motley crowd of sight-seers shows, however, that *pardah* was not then strictly observed, nor its non-observance seriously resented.

After the tournament, Gautam was married to Gopi, and she was given the name of Yashodhara and became his senior wife. He took two more wives, namely Yashoda and Utpal Varu; but these two junior wives appear to play no further part in the life-story of Gautam. The story of Gautam's miraculous conception, birth and marriage by *Swayamvar*⁽¹⁾ must not be taken to be necessarily consonant with facts, though the legendary account is often repeated without comment. The fact is, that similar accounts are given of the lives of the Pandavas in the *Mahabharat*, and of Ram in the *Ramayan*. But in the present case there is more than one reason to treat the incident as a transparent imagery and inconsistent with the other recited facts, and such are the other legends mentioned in the sequel. So far as regards his marriage, it is clear that Gautam himself had selected his bride. Her father had agreed to give her to him in marriage, but before giving his final consent, he wished to allay his doubts about his ability and prowess. This must have been known to all the Shakyas and delicacy would have dictated discretion in entering the lists with Gautam. Again, Gautam's father was a rigidly orthodox Hindu, and the marriages of Hindus then,

(1) Sk. *Swayam-sell Var-match*, Lit: "Selection by a woman of her own husband" A form of Hindu marriage pre-

valent in the classic age when the woman offered herself in marriage to the winner of an open tournament.

as now, are made in heaven. They do not select their wives themselves. The selection depends upon casting of the horoscopes and the proved affinity of the ruling planets of the parties to be married which is left to the calculation of the Brahman-priest.

The available records do not show at what age Gautam was married; but judging from the fact that he was old enough to perform those feats of arms in competition with his competitors, he must have been pretty old when he got married. Hindus in those days, as now, married young—the usual age for scions of well-to-do families being twelve to fourteen, married to girls aged eight to ten years. This is in accordance with the inculcation of Manu who had laid down the age of eight as sufficient for a girl's marriage,⁽¹⁾ though in the case of boys adult marriage is held preferable.⁽²⁾

However, whatever the age of Gautam's marriage, one thing is certain that he had now agreed to enter the state of an ordinary householder, and that whatever his early proclivities towards meditation and asceticism, they had been overcome by the appearance of a vivacious and a beautiful bride. It is quite clear that when married, she could not have been under sixteen, probably more; while one may hazard a guess that Gautam must then be about twenty. That this is not wholly imaginary will be apparent from the fresco scenes depicted in the *Lalit Visatar* and at Ajanta.

Of Buddh's relations at this time, we know only two. Both were his cousins—one of them, Dev Datt, to whom reference has already been made, became early jealous of his success and later in life developed into his implacable foe, the other, Anand was always deeply attached to him, became one of his earliest disciples and was his constant companion and trusted friend. We do not hear of any other relations, though the family of the Shakyas being numerous

(1) *Manu Ch.* IX—88;

(2) *Manu* IX—94:—"A man aged 30 years may marry a girl of 12 and if he finds one dear to his heart; or a man of 24 years, a damsel of 8; but if

he finished his studentship earlier, and the duties of his next order would otherwise be impeded, let him marry immediately."

and powerful, it is but natural that Gautam must have had other relations, though we know nothing about them.

The usual rule with a Kshatriya prince is that upon his marriage, the heir-apparent is inducted into the affairs of the State, being usually allotted the task of Chief Minister or other important functionary, according to his proclivity and aptitude. But it does not appear that Gautam was assigned any such duties. As a lad he had shown himself to be of a retiring, contemplative disposition; and it is probably the reason why Dandapani objected to give his daughter in marriage to a boy, however highly placed, without proof of his prowess. If this part of the version of his life be believed, it contradicts the other account depicted in the *Lalit Vistar* that in his learning he had out-mastered his master. If Gautam had been an infant prodigy—which he is represented by the devout sculptor to be, two things are certain: Dandapani would never have hesitated to give his daughter in marriage; and if he did, the sports must have been a mere display, and not the serious competition they are represented to be. Again, the maiden modesty of the Kshatriya girls would prevent their joining in a beauty-competition for the hand of Gautam in the manner depicted, all of which appears to be a histrionic embellishment added for effect, though there seem good grounds for believing that Gautam was indisposed to enter into the bondage of marriage, and that he evaded his father's proposal for it till his marriage by *Swayam-var* (courtship) was resolved upon. Indeed, the entire series of frescoes, which depict the life of Buddha must be taken with a grain, in fact, many grains of salt. They are held to embody a modicum of truth, and European scholars have largely drawn upon them, but the fact remains that they were tributes of the devout who had to draw upon their imagination for glorifying the life of their revered Teacher, whom they had begun to adore as God. The same remarks apply to his miraculous conception in the form of a white elephant. Such animal, being rare, is greatly prized and is classed as a sacred symbol of Buddhist faith. The elephant-god,

Ganesh is the Hindu god of wisdom, and the white elephant is only an improvement on him.

Of the personal appearance of the Perfect One, we know directly very little. His images, though innumerable, give no clue to his figure or features; since they have been moulded according to the type of features, prevalent in the country of the sculptor. In some cases, they are allegorical and in all cases, unreliable. For instance, take the height. The images vary from a few inches to colossal height, say, up to 70 feet; and the pious Buddhist verily believes that he was as tall as he is represented. They are even endowed with life. They are mostly carved in stone, though some are made of gold, brass, marble, sandal-wood and clay, in varying postures, some recumbent, but mostly sedant or in the squatting position.

As many of these statues stand singly, it is not possible to guess his height by comparison with other figures. They are all stated to be self-created, even by the artist who fashions them. So far then as his height is concerned, we have no reliable data. Prof. Monier-Williams thinks that Buddh was probably tall even for an up-country Indian, where the average of a man's stature is about five feet eight or nine inches.⁽¹⁾ He would then make Buddh a six-footer, but there is not the least justification for it. In the first place, the average height of an up-country Indian is not what the Professor has estimated it to be. In the second place, there is no reason to suppose that Buddh was above the average. On the other hand, if this were the fact, his earliest biographer would not have failed to notice it. On the contrary, in the earliest frescoes and paintings now extant, Buddh is not given any prominence in point of height. A conjecture has been hazarded that the Shakyas were a nomadic tribe who entered from Tibet and Northern Asia and that they became assimilated with the Aryan Hindu and were admitted into the Kshatriya caste. There is again no data for this, any more than for the conjecture that Buddh was a negro because he is depicted as possessing curly hair! ⁽²⁾ But even if there were, it would be

(1) "*Buddhism*" p. 477.

Williams "*Buddhism*," 474 f.n. (3).

(2) Seriously so held—See fact noted in

one more argument against assuming Buddh to be of any but the normal height, since these immigrants from the North belong to the Mongolian stock, and are ordinarily squat and square-built people with their slanting eyes peculiar to that race. The Gurkha, who hails from Nepal, is probably the best known example of this race.

So much for the height. Turning next to his features we are again confronted by a want of unanimity; though on this point, it is not so marked. The one organ which some of his images undoubtedly exaggerate is the ear, which in some is shown as long and reaching up to the shoulder.⁽¹⁾ Even in the colossal figure, discovered in Buddh-Gaya, which is bearing the year corresponding to 142 A.D., this abnormality is easily noticeable. But whether it was intended to be true to nature or was merely to symbolize a trait, one cannot say. The ears are elephantine, and actually touch the shoulder in the statues placed in the external niches of the Buddh-Gaya temple before its restoration. But the fact remains that other statues and images do not emphasize this aural deformity.

That Buddh wore short hair after his renunciation may be taken for granted; for had he not cut off his tresses with his sword to signalize his abandonment of the world? Before that event, however, he wore long tresses, dressed and combed them and had them flowing down to the neck. It was the fashion in those days. In the statues and images in which Gautam is depicted bare-headed, his short hairs are shown as curly, probably because the possession of curls was believed to be an auspicious sign.⁽²⁾ But in most statues and images his head is covered with a serpent-coil, as the emblem of eternity. The ascetic form of the Hindu god Shiv is represented as wearing a serpent withal. In the case of Buddh, it has the added significance of commemorating the legend—that during his period of meditation he was about to be overwhelmed by a storm when the serpent Mesalind came to his

(1) The elongation of the lobes is probably intended to typify his noble birth, as scions of noble houses then wore heavy discs, ear pendants, rings

and other ornamentations.

(2) M. Williams "Buddhism," 474 f.n. (3).

rescue and coiled his body round him and stretched his hood over his head for shelter. The top of this coil shows a protuberance, which is a copy of the Hindu ascetic's coil of hair, tied up in a fore-knot or a chignon. The eyes and the eyebrows in the statues are both of the curved Aryan type: so is the nose, in some—aquiline, in others flat—with the nostrils wide and protruding, and the bridge low. This is characteristically marked in the second century statue, now in the Calcutta Museum. In this, the lips are carved thick,—a trait reproduced in some later images. The general contour of the face, in these and other representations, is certainly of the handsome man he is described to be. Of this there can be no doubt; and it can be concluded from the incidental references to his person in an ancient poem, which describes his visit to Rajgrah after his renunciation, and the visit to him by its king, who dissuaded him from turning a monk, adding "young, thou art and delicate, a lad in his first youth, fine is thy colour, like a high-born noble's."⁽¹⁾ And similarly, the first Brahman sage he went to, exclaimed "Behold! see the noble appearance of that man!"⁽²⁾ which meant tall and stately. But the art of statuary was never much advanced in India; and the sculptor in every case, appears to have blended his notion of the Hindu ascetic practising Yoge, of which he has added allegorical trappings and given the whole the conventional appearance of mental abstraction.

The common features of all statues, however, are that they are invariably draped, the cloth covering the body the right shoulder being left bare, in striking contrast to the images of Mahabir—the founder of Jainism and the later Jain saints. It faithfully represents Gautam's dissent from the combined doctrines of the Hindu ascetic, as those of his contemporary founder of the Jain religion and his cousin Dev Dutt, who had, out of pique, joined that creed. In Nepal many images are found of Buddh holding the alms-bowl, but these are not common elsewhere.

(1) "*Prabhajja Sutta*" § 16 cited in Rhys Davids' "*Buddhism*" 101. (2) *Lalit Vistara* 79.

The Hindus apply a mark of sandal-wood paste on their face as the symbol of their caste. Some of Buddha's images represent this caste-mark on the fore-head, but it is certainly not true to life, as Buddha's whole life was spent in decrying caste and its outward show: "Not nakedness, not matted hair, not dirt, not fasting, not lying on the ground, not smearing with ashes, not sitting motionless—can purify a mortal, who has not overcome desires"(1).

Nothing is known, nor can be definitely ascertained of Gautam's home-life after his marriage. The legends connected with his mental attitude towards the great world, culminating in the decisive step he took in his twenty-ninth year, are however, numerous. From their recital, they all appear to be apocryphal, but some of them will be given here to shew what treaders in the same path conceived to have been the punctuating periods of his intervening life. They are all depicted in the *Lalit Vistar*.

The years following his marriage were spent in the regal splendour of an Oriental Court. Shuddhodhan had built for his Prince three palaces, in which to beguile his time, adapted to the three seasons of the year. The women attendants regale him with dancing and music, which for the nonce turn Gautam's thoughts away from his growing melancholy. But Gautam soon recovers himself. He feels sated with the pleasure offered to him. He yearns for a change. His father had taken care to see that the young Prince was made a prisoner in his own home. He was surrounded by courtiers, attendants, sentinels and guards, while he was free to enjoy "the five incomparable kinds of love, and the young women were always near him with music, song and dance."(2) Even the gods are seduced by this company; but Gautam feels satiated, and other thoughts awaken in him, and he orders his chariot to go to the pleasure-garden. He emerges from the gate of his palace, headed by a military escort of soldiers, clearing the way with drawn swords in hand. The carriage and pair is driven by a coachman, while an attendant holds a golden umbrella over him. His retinue follow him, but as he pro-

(1) *Dhammapad*.

(2) *Lalit Vistar* Plate 55 p. 61.

ceeds to his palace, he receives the first shock of his life : for he sees in front of him on the road "an old man, aged, worn out, with swollen veins on his body and broken teeth, wrinkled and grey-haired, bent, crooked as a root, broken, leaning on a stick, feeble, without youth, his throat uttering inarticulate sounds, his body bent and supported by a staff, trembling in all his limbs and parts of limbs."⁽¹⁾ Seeing this decrepit figure, Gautam inquired of his charioteer : "What human form is this, so miserable and so distressing, the like of which I have never seen before ?" The charioteer replied : "This is what is called an old man."

It is curious that the Prince required the charioteer to tell him what every child would know ; and the Prince was a Bodhisatv sent down from Heaven for the salvation of mankind. But such is the legend, this and others to follow.

The Prince inquired : "And what is the exact meaning of this expression 'old' ?"

The charioteer answered : "Old age implies the loss of bodily power, decay of the vital functions, and failure of mind and memory. This poor man before you is old and approaching his end."

Then asked the Prince : "Is this law universal ?"

"Yes," he replied, "this is the common lot of all living creatures. All that is born, must die."⁽²⁾

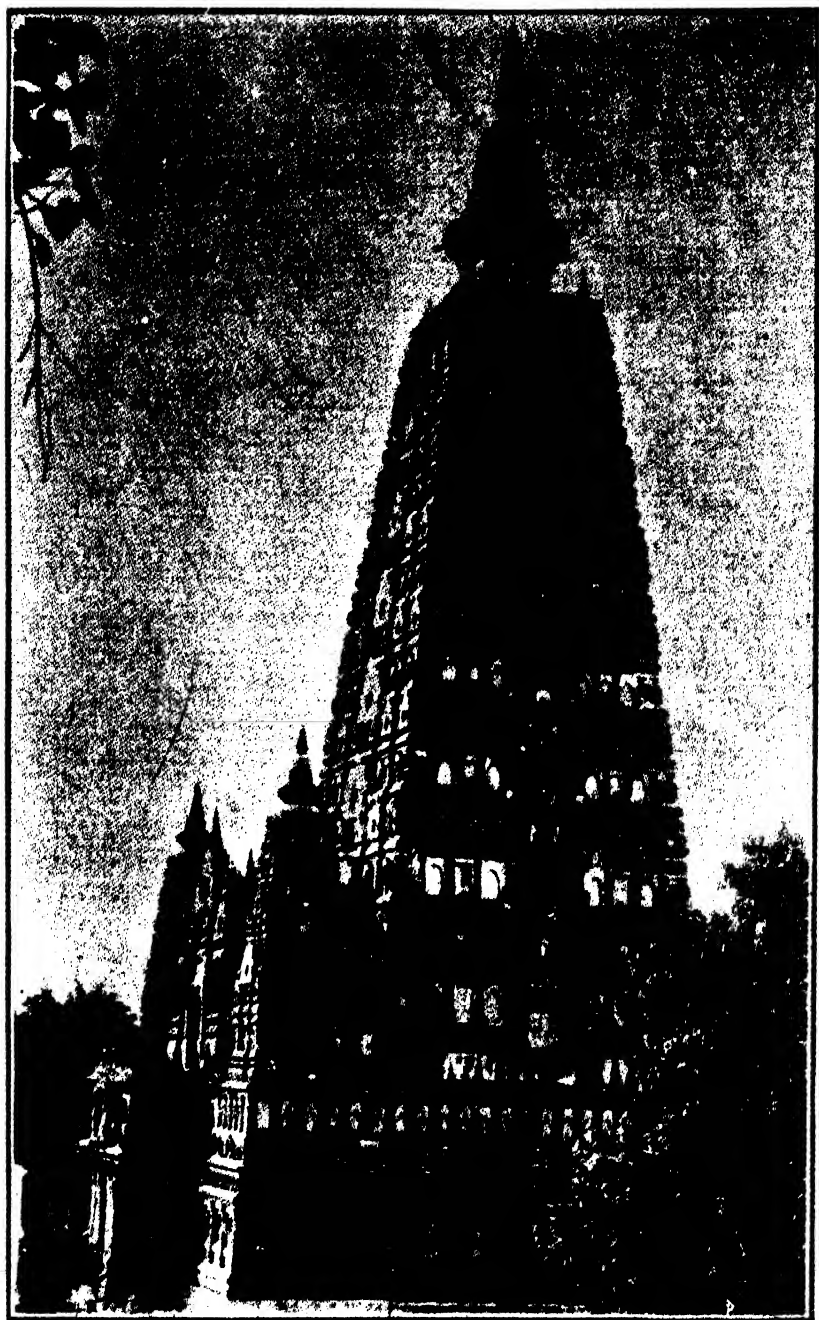
On another occasion, as he was proceeding to his pleasure garden, he saw on the road a man sick of a disease, overcome by hot fever, his body exhausted, soiled by his own excreta, without any one to help him, without shelter and breathing with difficulty.

The Prince inquired of his charioteer : "Who is this unhappy being ?" The charioteer replied : "This is a sick man, and such sickness is common to all."

(1) *Lalit Vistara* Plate 56 p. 62.

(2) The details in this and the next three legends are not in the *Lalit Vistara* :

but are taken from the Chinese version of *Abhinisk Kraman Sutra* (Beal's translation).



(4) Buddh Gaya, General view of the Great Temple.

On his third round he saw a dead man carried on a bier.

Then asked the Prince: "Who is this, borne onwards on his bed, covered with strangely coloured garments, surrounded by people weeping and lamenting?"

"This" replied the charioteer, "is called a dead body, he has ended his life; he has no further beauty of form and no desires of any kind; he is one with the stones and the felled tree; he is like a ruined wall, or fallen leaf; no more shall he see his father or mother, brother or sister, or either relatives; his body is dead, and your body also must come to this."

On the fourth occasion the Prince saw a monk standing on the road, quiet, tranquil, full of discretion and self-control, not allowing his glance to wander, nor looking farther than the length of a yoke, having attained the path that brings peace of mind and honour, showing that peace of mind in his forward and his backward steps, peace of mind in the looking and the turning away of his eyes, peace of mind in his bending and his stretching, peace of mind in the wearing of his coat, begging-bowl and monk's frock.

"Who is this?" the Prince inquired. "This man," said the charioteer, "devotes himself to charity, and restrains his appetites and his bodily desires. He hurts nobody, but does good to all, and is full of sympathy for all."

Then the Prince asked the ascetic to give an account of his condition.

He replied:—"I am called a homeless ascetic; I have forsaken the world, relatives and friends; I seek deliverance for myself and desire the salvation of all creatures, and I do harm to none."

The sight of the monk, uncared-for and still care-free, had fired his imagination, and would have led to his immediate renunciation, were it not for the fact that as he mounted his chariot, he received the tidings of the birth of a son. He says: "Rakula is born to me, a fetter has been forged for me." He returns home; and as he alights from his car, his eyes

fall upon a princess standing on the balcony of the palace. Seeing him, she exclaims: "Happy the repose of the mother, happy the repose of the father, happy the repose of the wife, whose is such a husband." The prince thinks to himself—"Well might she say that a blessed repose enters the hearts of mother, when she beholds such a son, and blessed repose enters the heart of a father and the heart of a wife. But when comes the repose which brings happiness to the heart?"—to which he himself gives the answer—"When the fire of lust is extinguished, when the fire of hatred and infatuation is extinguished, when ambition, error, and all sins and sorrows are extinguished, then the heart finds happy repose."

Moved by his own thoughts, the Prince approached his father and said: "I wish to become a wandering ascetic⁽¹⁾ and to seek Nirvan; all worldly things, Oh King! are changeable and transitory." The King wished to divert the young Prince's thoughts by reinforcing the women's apartments, and ordered: "Let music never cease; let all kinds of play and amusement be provided simultaneously. Let the women use all their powers of attraction and bewitch the Prince, so that his spirit is dimmed by pleasure, and he will not go away to wander as a monk."

But the King soon found this unavailing; for, Gautam, who had decided to become a monk, said to himself: "It would not become me and would shew ingratitude, were I to leave without informing the King, and without taking his consent." He entered the palace and presented himself before the King, and spake, "Hinder me no more, and be not sorrowful thereat, for the hour of my departure, O King, is come. Therefore be content, O Prince, thou and thy people and thy realm."

The King endeavoured to turn him from his purpose and fought against his son's desire; but finding him obdurate, he at last gave way and spake: "It is thy desire to bring by redemption salvation to the world; let the aim thou hast set before thee be achieved."

(1) *Skt.* "Parivrajak."

Next morning the King called together the whole company of Shakyas and apprised them of the matter : " The Prince will depart ; what must now be done ? " The Shakyas answered : " We will keep guard over him, O King ;—for why, we are a great company of Shakyas and he is but alone. How shall he be able to force a way to depart ? " The guards were accordingly doubled and the sensuous pleasures increased. But Gautam felt that in the midst of life he was in death. He beheld the sight of his women lying dead in sleep, " some with their garments torn away, others with dishevelled hair, some whose ornaments were all fallen off, others with broken diadems, some whose shoulders were bruised, and others with naked limbs, and mouths awry and squinting eyes and some slobbering..... " " And meditating on the idea of purity, and penetrating the idea of impurity, he saw that from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, the body originates in impurity, is compounded of impurity, and exhales impurity without end. " At this time he spoke this verse : " O hell of living beings, with many entrances ; dwelling-place of death and age, what wise man having looked thereon, would not consider his own body to be his enemy ? " .

He had now finally made up his mind to renounce the world. At midnight he roused his faithful charioteer—Chandak from his sleep, and said : " Quick, Chandak, delay not, bring me my prince of horses decked with all his ornaments. My salvation is about to be fulfilled ; and this day will it surely be accomplished. " Chandak naturally felt grieved to hear these words, and wished to dissuade his young master from taking such step. But Gautam was firm. He said " Discourage me now no more, Chandak, bring my Kanthak caparisoned without delay. " Chandak had no option but to obey. The horse was ready and so was the rider. No, not yet. For, as Gautam emerged from his bed-chamber, a thought crossed him : " I will see my child— " It was just seven days old. ⁽¹⁾ And he retraced his steps to his wife's bed-chamber and found her sleeping on a flower-strewn couch, with her hand spread over the child's

(1) *Jatak*, 172.

head. Then the thought occurred to him : " If I move her hand from his head to clasp my child, she will awake." He reflected : " Distressing is life at home, a state of impurity ; freedom is in leaving home." While he reflected thus he left home.

" The ascetic Gautam has gone from home into homelessness, while still young, young in years, in the bloom of youthful strength, in the first freshness of life. The ascetic Gautam, although his parents did not wish it, although they shed tears and wept, has had his hair and beard shaved, has put on yellow garments, and has gone from his home into homelessness."

Gautam was 29 when he left his home.

CHAPTER V

THE GREAT RENUNCIATION.

Seven years of Preparation.

It has already been seen that in leaving the comforts of home to the discomforts of a nomadic life, Gautam was following the inculcations of the Hindu scriptures which divide the life of a Brahman into three stages—the last being spent in the wood. That stage had come in the life of Gautam, for he had passed his childhood in study, and his youth as a householder, the termination of which is marked not by the lapse of years but by the birth of a son—which is a signal for the father to depart. ⁽¹⁾ The third stage is to be passed in the forest, in contemplation and study, and preparation for the hereafter. He was to feed on roots and fruits and practise the severest austerity. This was the stage of *Van-prasth*. ⁽²⁾ The fourth and last stage was that of a Sanyasi. ⁽³⁾ He is then presumably old and infirm ; but would eat nothing but what was given to him unasked and abide not more than one day in any village, lest the vanities of the world should find entrance in his heart. He must, of course, abstain from intoxicating drinks, practise charity, curb his desires and keep his mind fixed on contemplation and study ; for, “ what is this world ? It is even as the bough of a tree, on which a bird rests for a night, and in the morning flies away.” ⁽⁴⁾

It is this life that Gautam's thoughts had turned to, when he experienced the wretchedness and misery of man. And it is, therefore, to the Brahmans that he first directed his steps. And as he left his home, on that lonely dark night, accompanied by his horseman—Chandak, with a drawn sword at the rear,

(1) According to Manu this stage is reached in the case of a Brahman on the procreation of a son—(*Manu* VI—2 *Jones Tr.* p. 119) and in the case of other castes, when a person sees “the child of his child.” *Manu* VI—2 (*Jones Tr.* 116).

(2) Sk. *Van*—forest, *Prasth*—dweller; Forest dweller”.

(3) Sk. *Sanyas*—asceticism.

(4) He himself had undergone a similar experience in a previous life. 6 *Jatak* No. 539 ; (*Camb*) 19—37.

Gautam said to himself : "Why do I want a horse and a horseman to accompany me ? And why do I want these ornaments ? And why do I need these flowing tresses and this gorgeous attire ?" So, as he emerged from the city-gate and was well clear of it, he stopped his horse, removed the tiara from his head and cut off his hair with a sword. He undraped himself ; and collecting the tiara and the ornaments in a bundle, delivered them to Chandak, and proceeded alone on foot. As he proceeded, a thought struck him. "I have parted with my tiara and other ornaments. Why do I don this gorgeous attire ?" Meanwhile, he met a hunter passing his way. He wore a russet dress. He proposed to him the exchange of garments, saying : "If thou, worthy man, givest me thy russet dress, I will give thee these Kaushik robes." He answered : "Those garments suit you and these suit me." Gautam implored him to make the exchange, and finally it was made. He donned the garb of a hermit and then proceeded to the cells of two Brahman hermits by name Shaki and Padma who gave him food and shelter, but no mental instruction.

Meanwhile, as was to be expected, when the King heard next morning of his son's disappearance, he was disconsolate. Chandak strolled back with the empty horse and told him of the Prince's disappearance in the forest. The entire household went into mourning, and Gautam's wife reminded the King of the monarchs of old, including his own ancestors, who had gone into the forest with their wives. At any rate, for the sake of his child, he should not have left her alone. The wailings of the people, as they heard of the news, added to the wild cries of the King's household. A search-party was organized to find him ; and the minister with the family-priest, "beaten by the King with his scourge of tears," mounted their steeds and made a dash for the forest, where they met one Bhargava Brahman, who informed the party that Gautam had gone towards Arao seeking liberation. Thither they went and found him, and persuaded him to return, if only for the sake of his father, wife and child. But Gautam was obdurate. He said, "Who would not wish to see his dear kindred, if but this separation from beloved ones

did not exist ? But who can avoid separation, since parting is inevitably fixed in the course of time for all beings, just as for travellers who have joined company on the road. What wise man would cherish sorrow when he loses his kindred, even though he loves them ? Leaving his kindred in another world, he departs hither ; and having stolen away from them here, he goes forth once more—such is the lot of mankind.” To which the minister replied, “ Surely the mind is not very penetrating, or it is unskilled in examining duty, wealth and pleasure—when, for the sake of an unseen result, thou departest, disregarding a visible end. Some say that there is another birth, others confidently assert that there is not : since then the matter is all in doubt, is it not right to enjoy the good fortune which comes into thy hand ? If there is a life hereafter, we shall enjoy in it as we can, but if there be no life, then there is liberation without any effort. Some say there is a future life without the possibility of liberation ; that it is its inherent property, and that all this world arises spontaneously, and that all our effort is in vain.” He then quoted the example of Ram and other classic heroes who returned home after their exile. But Gautam said that they were no authorities ; for, in determining duty “ how canst thou quote an authority of those who have broken their vows ? ” He concluded : “ Even the sun may fall to the earth, even the mountain Haimavat may lose its firmness ; but never would I return to my home as a man of the world, with no knowledge of the truth, and my senses only alert for external objects. I would enter the blazing fire, but not my house with my purpose unfulfilled.” The party had no option but to leave. They, however, left emissaries in disguise to follow Gautam and watch his movements.

For some time he stayed on a mountain near Gaya, and then in his wanderings he fell upon a beautiful village, Uruvila, by the bank of the river Niranjana with clear water, good landing places, with fine trees and thickets and set on all sides with meadows and villages. He was pleased with this specimen of sylvan beauty and decided to make it his abode. ⁽¹⁾ From here he appears to have made excursions to other places in quest of

(1) *Lalit vistar*, p. 85 : See 177 post.

knowledge. He first decided to pay a visit and discuss personally the rival doctrines with their reputed exponents. He had already visited the Brahmins of the orthodox school, whose tenets of securing liberation by the offering of sacrifice and subjecting the body to mortification, he had no difficulty in rejecting as worthy of no serious thought. He next tried to come to grips with the renowned teacher of Sankhya Philosophy. Such an one was Araḍ Kalap, a sage of repute, who was also a religious preceptor to three hundred pupils. He lived in the great kingdom of Vaishali. Gautam appears to have been attracted to this man, because he was reputed to have enjoined poverty and the subjugation of the senses—as distinguished from self-torture and the practice of Yoge. Araḍ Kalap saw him from afar, and was fascinated by Gautam's tall and stately appearance, so that he exclaimed to his disciples: "Behold: see the noble appearance of that man." And they said: "Truly we see it. It is very marvellous." Gautam went to this Brahmin and said, "I seek to become a Brahmin scholar of Araḍ Kalap." The latter replied: "Do so, Gautam, according to that teaching of the law by which a devout son of good family may acquire the knowledge with little trouble." One of the pupils brought him, as is the custom, a jug of water for the stranger to drink. He now settled down as a disciple of Araḍ for the study of his doctrine of life and its problems.

It is not clear how long he stayed with this tutor; but he had little difficulty in mastering his doctrine, and said so to his preceptor, who raised him to the rank equal to his own.

Araḍ was a dualist and a follower of Sankhya philosophy. He expounded its main doctrine to Gautam: "The evolvent and the evolute; birth, old age and death, know that this has been called the reality by us: egoism, intellect and the unmanifested being—the evolvents, and the external objects—the evolutes, of which the soul possesses the knowledge. That which is born and grows old, is bound and dies—is to be known as the manifested and its contrary is the unmanifested. Ego manifests itself by the consciousness of its actions *e.g.*, 'I say,' 'I know,' 'I go.' There can be no effect without a cause.

Knowledge of four things ensures liberation. Knowledge of the illuminated and the unilluminated, the manifested and the unmanifested. The soul that can distinguish these attains to the immortal sphere. Vedic sacrifices are vain." Gautam enquired whether the liberation of the soul implied its absolution from the routine of births and deaths,—to which the seer replied in the negative. He said: " Even though the pure soul is declared to be ' liberated,' yet so long as the soul remains, there can be no absolute abandonment of it." (1) Gautam was seeking that liberation which would free the soul from the cycle of births and deaths. He was, therefore, not satisfied with the exponent of the Sankhya doctrine of life and, therefore, left his tutor for Magadha, or the country round about Benares and then to Rajgrah, a town near Gaya, where he settled down on the slopes of Pandav mountain.

It will be observed that Kashi or Benares had in Gautam's time already acquired a reputation for its learning, and Gautam, who was out to study, should have naturally drifted southward from his home to the city on the bank of the holy Ganges; but he avoided the maelstrom of a city-life, and chose the more secluded spots of Sanskrit learning. At any rate, spending a year unprofitably elsewhere, he went to Rajgrah kingdom, to which place he had been drawn by the name of Rudrak, who had seven hundred pupils, and whom he wished to see. There he was seen one morning, entering with a begging-bowl and monk's frock " to beg with peace of mind in my forward steps and in my backward steps, in my looks, in the bending and stretching of my body, with peace of mind in the wearing of my coat, begging-bowl and monk's frock, not allowing my senses to become excited, or my mind to contemplate exterior things, as an automaton, as he who carries a cask of oil, seeing no further than the length of a yoke. When the dwellers in Rajgrah saw me, they marvelled." (2)

The news of Gautam's arrival was carried to the King. He was told that the new mendicant lived at the foot of the mountain, to which king Bimbeshwar proceeded with his people.

(1) *Buddha Charitra*, 49 S.B.E., 130, 131. (2) *Lalit Vistara*, 8'.

He saw that Gautam had spread grass upon which he was seated in the contemplative posture, "his legs crossed, immoveable as the Meru."⁽¹⁾ After saluting his feet, the King told him that he had a strong friendship with his father's family, come down by inheritance and that therefore, he ventured to give him advice. He added: "When I consider thy wide-spread race, beginning with the Sun, thy fresh youth, and thy conspicuous beauty,—whence comes this resolve of thine, so out of all harmony with the rest, set wholly on a mendicant's life, not on a kingdom?"⁽²⁾ "If, therefore, gentle youth, through thy love for thy father thou desirest not thy paternal kingdom in thy generosity—then, at any rate, thy choice must not be excused accepting forthwith one-half of my kingdom."⁽³⁾ He added that if his aim is to attain heavenly bliss, then let him offer sacrifices, as it has been his family's immemorial custom.⁽⁴⁾ Gautam thanked the King for his generous and friendly offer; but, he added that success in pleasure thwarts effort—and "As for the common opinion—pleasures are enjoyments, none of them when examined, is worthy of being enjoyed; fine garments and the rest are only the accessories of things; they are to be regarded as merely the remedies for pain. Water is desired for allaying thirst, food in the same way for removing hunger, a house for keeping off the wind, the heat of the sun and the rain; and dress for keeping off the cold and to cover one's nakedness. External objects, therefore, are to human beings means for remedying pain, not in themselves sources of enjoyment; what wise man would allow that he enjoys those delights, which are only used as remedies? He who, when burned with the heat of bilious fever, maintains that cold appliances are an enjoyment, when he is only engaged in alleviating pain,—he indeed might give the name of enjoyment to pleasures." Then turning to the sacrifice, he added: "And as for what thou saidest, 'be diligent in sacrifices for religion, such as are worthy of thy race, and bring a glorious fruit,'—honour to such sacrifices! I desire not that fruit which is sought by causing pain to others! To kill a

(1) *Meru* is the name of a mountain.

(2) *Buddh Chariṭra*, 49 S.B.E. p. 107.

(3) *Buddh Chariṭra* p. 107, §25.

(4) *Ib.*, pp. 109, 110, §29.

helpless victim through a wish for future reward—it would be an unseemly action for a merciful-hearted good man, even if the reward of the sacrifice were eternal ; but what if, after all, it is subject to decay ? And even if true religion did not consist in quite another rule of conduct, by self-restraint, moral practice and a total absence of passion,—still it would not be seemly to follow the rule of sacrifice, where the highest reward is described as attained only by slaughter.”⁽¹⁾ He then added that he was not to be lured into a course of action for future reward, as his mind did not delight in future births. He told the King that he had come to see Rudrak, who proclaimed liberation.

Now, Rudrak was a philosophical Nihilist, because his intellect could not fathom the essence of either spirit or matter. This did not satisfy Gautam, who was looking out for an escape from the tyranny of re-incarnation. He left his hermitage and repaired to the neighbouring town of Gaya, where he fixed his lonely habitation on the bank of Niranjana. Five mendicants came to join him. He had now collected sufficient experience of the different systems of philosophy, but wished to give the orthodox system one more trial.

He decided to practise self-mortification, by fasting and other acts of self-denial. He did so for a long period of six years, but as he was no nearer his goal, he reflected to himself : “ This is not the way, to passionlessness, nor to perfect knowledge, nor to liberation ; that was certainly the true way which I found at the root of the Jambu⁽²⁾ tree. But that cannot be attained by one who has lost his strength.....wearied with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, with his mind no longer self-possessed through fatigue ; how should one, who is not absolutely calm, reach the end which is to be attained by his mind ? True calm is properly obtained by the constant satisfaction of the senses ; the mind’s self-possession is only obtained by the senses being perfectly satisfied. True meditation is produced in him whose mind is self-possessed and at rest ; to him whose thoughts are engaged

(1) *Buddh Charitra*, 49 S.B.E. pp. 120, 121. (2) “ Rose Apple”.

in meditation, the exercise of perfect contemplation begins at once. By contemplation are obtained those conditions through which is eventually gained that supreme calm, undecaying, immortal state, which is so hard to be realized." (1)

Having decided to resume his wonted life, he took a bath, and from the hands of a fair milk-maid, by name Nanābala—daughter of the head herdsman, he drank milk, and then proceeded to the root of a Pipal tree⁽²⁾ the ground of which was carpetted with young grass. There he sat in his sedent posture, exclaiming, "I will not rise from this position on the earth until I have obtained my utmost aim". Mara—the Demon, tried to tempt him, and employed his three sons—Confusion, Gaiety and Pride, and his three daughters,—Lust, Delight and Thirst to seduce him from his purpose. Seduction failing, he tried intimidation and coercion. But the sage withstood their blandishments and repulsed their attacks. And "then by that divine, perfectly pure sight, he beheld the whole world as in a spotless mirror. As he saw the various transmigrations and re-births of the various beings, with their several lower or higher merits from their actions, compassion grew up more with him. These living beings, under the influence of evil actions, pass into wretched worlds—those others, under the influence of good actions, go forward in heaven. If man only knew that such was the consequence of selfishness, he would always give to others even pieces of his own body". He then reflected that men's minds are ruled by desire—the desire to live. Desire arises where there is sensation, and sensation is produced by contact, and contact arises through the six organs of the senses, and these arise in the organism, where there is incipient consciousness, which arises from later impressions left by former actions, which again arise from ignorance; and inversely, beginning from ignorance follows the same sequence. "Thus ignorance is declared to be the root of the great trunk of pain by all the wise; therefore, it is to be stopped by those who seek liberation".

(1) *Buddha Charitra*, 40 S.B.E. 134.

(2) "*Ficus religiosa*", in *Pali*—

"*Asvalla tree*."

"Thus he, the holy one, sitting there, on his seat of grass at the root of the tree, pondering, by his own efforts, attained at last perfect knowledge."⁽¹⁾ "Then the Buddh, mounted on a throne, up in the air to the height of seven palm-trees, addressed all those Nrinitt Bodhisatvs, illuminating their minds: 'Ho! Ho! listen ye to the words of me, who have now attained perfect knowledge; everything is achieved by meritorious works; therefore, as long as existence lasts, acquire merit'".⁽²⁾ And then he spake these words which were the first he uttered at the moment of his attaining Buddhhood:—"Looking for the maker of this tabernacle, I have run through a course of many births, not finding him; and painful is birth again and again. But now, maker of the tabernacle, thou hast been seen; thou shalt not make up this tabernacle again. All thy rafters are broken, thy ridge-pole is sundered; the mind, approaching the eternal, has attained to the extinction of all desires."⁽³⁾

This was his Enlightenment.—Let us pause to consider how this enlightenment came, which shaped the course of all his future career. Buddh had left the easy life of the palace to seek salvation for human suffering. He had been to the most accredited teachers of his religion. Like them he had led a life of severest austerity, passed it in fasting and penance and the practice of Yoge, which, it was believed, would open the pores of the human mind to receive revelation. It did not come. His six years had been spent in a vain pursuit for direct knowledge. But by a sudden flash of his mind, while seated under a pipal tree, he received by inspiration what had been denied to him by revelation. He saw the whole chart of life before him;—why it arose, and why it ended, and what was the root-cause of human suffering: It was desire which was rooted in selfishness and its salve was a life of self-denial. That was all he then learnt, and that was all he ever strove to teach. The truth he had learnt was an elementary truth, a truth which,

(1) *Buddha Charitra*, 49 S.B.E., p. 155. of a similar renunciation in his past life II

(2) *Ib.*, p. 155. *Jataka* (Camb.) No. 181; p. 60—63. *Ib.*, VI

(3) *Dhammapad*, XI—153, 154; 10 (Camb.) No. 528/539; pp. 1—27.
S.B.E. p. 43. The Master recounted his story

a little attention to human psychology, might have taught him even in his own palace. But the great truth which he could not have then learnt, and learnt only by experience,—was the vanity of human assumption that mental abstraction brings the soul in direct contact with the eternal Soul, and opens the gate-way to omniscience. That was a disillusionment which accompanied the enlightenment. It taught him another psychological fact, *viz.*, that knowledge cannot be acquired by the mere exercise of the will, and that it required the exercise of the mind. It decided him to teach the Golden Rule of taking a middle course in life—the middle path between sacrifice and sensuality. Sacrifices and penance did not bring divine wisdom ; sensuality pushed it further remote. The ideal life was the life which, while abandoning the form and ceremonial of the conventional creed, operated on the mind, and cleansed it of the cob-webs of priestly indoctrinated belief—that no effort of the mind was necessary to attain to the height of true wisdom, and that the life—that is and is to be—could be ennobled by burnt sacrifices and self-immolation, or that indulgence in the sensuous pleasures was conducive to its real or final happiness. The enlightenment gave him the grip of the real cause of human sorrow, and the middle path suggested its remedy. These two facts became the main pivot of his teaching. They still remain the cardinal points of his doctrine.

The tree under which Gautam became “the Buddha”, or, the Enlightened One, has become known to history as the Mahabodhi (¹) tree or the tree of great knowledge.

After discovering the key to salvation, Buddha sat cross-legged on the ground under the Bodhi tree, for seven days absorbed in meditation and enjoying the bliss of enlightenment. “Thus passed that period of seven days which is designated the ‘ailment of joy.’”(²) During this week he is stated to have formulated the law of causation which he stated in a sorites : “From ignorance comes the combination of formations

(1) Sk. *Maha-great, Bodhi-wisdom* : also “Bo-tree”
called “Bodhi tree” and shortened into (2) 49 S.B.E. p. 159.

of tendencies ; (1) from such formations comes consciousness ; (2) from consciousness, individual being ; (3) from individual being, the six organs of senses ; from the six organs, contact ; from contact, sensation ; (4) from sensation, desire ; (5) from desire, clinging to life ; (6) from clinging to life, continuity of becoming ; (7) from continuity of becoming, birth, from birth, decay and death ; from decay and death, suffering :

And inversely, in the following catechism :—

- Q. What is the cause of misery and suffering ?
 A. Old age and death.
 Q. What is the cause of old age and death ?
 A. Birth.
 Q. Of Birth ?
 A. Continuity of becoming.
 Q. Of continuity of becoming ?
 A. Clinging to life.
 Q. Of clinging to life ?
 A. Desire.
 Q. Of desire ?
 A. Sensation or perception.
 Q. Of Sensation ?
 A. Contact with the object of senses.
 Q. Of contact with objects ?
 A. The organs of sense.
 Q. Of the organs ?
 A. Name and form of individual being.
 Q. Of name and form ?
 A. Consciousness.
 Q. Of consciousness ?
 A. Combination of formations of tendencies i.e. proclivities and individual tendencies or character derived from previous births.
 Q. Of such formations ?
 A. Ignorance.

(1) Sk. *Saṅkhara* संखार, Palli *Saṅkharo*, see Gloss.

(2) Sk. *Gyaṇ*—Consciousness—Knowledge.

(3) Sk. *Namrup*—"Name, and form".

(4) Sk. *Vedanā*—feeling.

(5) Sk. *Trishna* : lust, thirst, desire.

(6) Sk. "*Upādāna*".

(7) Sk. *Bhav*.

It will be seen that this chain of causation has already been set out before. It has been again repeated here because it occupies an important place in the Buddhist doctrine and is abridged in its creed, found carved on Buddhist edicts : "Conditions (or laws) of existence which proceed from a cause, the cause of these hath the Buddha explained, as also the cessation of them. Of such Truths is the Great Shraman the Teacher."

Next he meditated for another seven days under a banyan tree. It is there that a Brahman put him the question "Who is a true Brahman?" And the answer given was : "One free from evil and pride ; self-restrained, learned and pure."

Then he meditated for another seven days under another tree ; and it was then that a heavy storm was raised to distract his thoughts ; but the serpent—Musalind, protected him by coiling himself round him, and he spread his hood over his head to shelter him from the rain. The storm raged for seven days, during which the King of serpents remained coiled, and the ascetic unmoved. When the storm ended, Buddha exclaimed : "Happy is the seclusion of the satisfied man, who has learnt and seen the truth."

Yet another week was passed under the tree *Rajratna*.

These represent the four "Dhyans" or meditations symbolizing the four stages of progress in the path to knowledge. These Dhyans are nothing more than the Hindu Yoga⁽¹⁾ already discussed.

The secret that Buddha had obtained,—the treasure that he had sought and found—is the key to Nirvan which must be left to be set out in the sequel.

For the present, we are here concerned only with the broad incidents of his monastic life. Buddha was now 36.

(1) Sk. *Yuj* (युज्) to join. The joining of human soul with the Divine spirit brought about by intense concentration:

See *Rig Veda* III—62, 10; *Manu* VI—62. *Bhagvat Gita*, VI—11-12.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM BUDDHHOOD TO RETURN HOME.

Twelve years of Ministry.

Gautam had now found the object of his quest. This "became known to the denizens of Heaven and to the Evil Powers below." The former had been throughout encouraging and helping him in his mission. The latter were as active in thwarting his plan. But the power of Good at last having triumphed over the power of Evil, the latter still strove to strike a bargain with the Victor. That was a time when Buddh's mind was wavering whether he should keep his great discovery to himself or proclaim it to the world. During his four weeks of fasting and cogitation, he had made one fact clear to himself,—that he had discovered the true path. But should he tread it alone?—he had not decided. The Mahavagga thus describes his mental attitude:—

"Then in the mind of the Blessed One, who was alone, and had retired into solitude, the following thought arose: I have penetrated this doctrine which is profound, difficult to perceive and to understand, which brings quietude of heart, which is exalted, which is unattainable by reasoning, abstruse, intelligible (only) to the wise. These people, on the other hand, are given to desire, intent upon desire, delighting in desire. To these people, therefore, who are given to desire, intent upon desire, delighting in desire, the law of causality and the chain of causation will be a matter difficult to understand; most difficult for them to understand will be also the extinction of all *amskars*, the getting rid of all the sub-strata of existence, the destruction of desire, the absence of passion, quietude of heart, Nirvan. Now if I proclaim the doctrine, and other men are not able to understand my preaching, there would result but weariness and annoyance to me.'

“And then the following.....stanzas, unheard before, occurred to the Blessed One: ‘With great pains have I acquired it. Enough! Why should I now proclaim it? This doctrine will not be easy to understand to beings that are lost in lust and hatred.’

‘Given to lust, surrounded with thick darkness, they will not see what is repugnant (to their minds), abstruse, profound, difficult to perceive and subtle.’

“When the Blessed One pondered over this matter, his mind became inclined to remain in quiet and not to preach the doctrine. Then Brahm Sahampati, understanding by the power of his mind the reflection which had arisen in the mind of the Blessed One, thought: ‘Alas! the world perishes! Alas! the world is destroyed! if the mind of the Tathagat, of the holy, of the absolute Sambuddh, inclines itself to remain in quiet, and not to preach the doctrine.’

“Then Brahm Sahampati disappeared from Brahm’s world, and appeared before the Blessed One (as quickly) as a strong man might stretch his bent arm out, or draw back his outstretched arm.

“And Brahm Sahampati adjusted his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder, and putting his right knee on the ground, raised his joined hands towards the Blessed One, and said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, may the Blessed One preach the doctrine! may the Perfect One preach the doctrine! there are beings whose mental eyes are darkened by scarcely any dust; but if they do not hear the doctrine, they cannot attain salvation. These will understand the doctrine.’

“Thus spoke Brahm Sahampati; and when he had thus spoken, he further said: ‘The Dhamm hitherto manifested in the country of Magadh has been impure, thought out by contaminated men. But do thou now open the door of the Immortal, let them hear the doctrine discovered by the Spotless One.’

“‘As a man standing on a rock, on mountain’s top, might overlook the people all around, thus, O wise One,

ascending to the highest palace of Truth, look down, All-seeing One, upon the people lost in suffering, overcome by birth and decay,—thou, who has freed thyself from suffering.’

“ ‘Arise, O hero, O victorious One! Wander through the world, O leader of the pilgrim band, who thyself art free from doubt. May the Blessed One preach the doctrine! there will be people who can understand it.’

‘When he had spoken thus, the Blessed One said to Brahm Sahampati: The following thought, Brahm, has occurred to me: ‘I have penetrated this doctrine..... When I pondered over this matter, Brahm, my mind became inclined to remain in quiet, and not to preach the doctrine.’

“ And a second time Brahm Sahampati said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, may the Blessed One preach the doctrine!’ And for the second time the Blessed One said *as before* to Brahm Sahampati:

“ And a third time Brahm Sahampati said to the Blessed One: ‘Lord, may the Blessed One preach the doctrine!’

“Then the Blessed One, when he had heard Brahm’s solicitation, looked, full of compassion towards sentient beings, over the world, with his (all-perceiving) eye of a Buddha. And the Blessed One, looking over the world with his eye of a Buddha, saw beings, whose mental eyes were darkened by scarcely any dust, and beings whose eyes were covered by much dust, beings sharp of sense, and blunt of sense, of good disposition and of bad disposition, easy to instruct and difficult to instruct, some of them seeing the dangers of future life and of sin.

“As, in a pond of blue lotuses, or water-roses, or white lotuses, some blue lotuses, or water-roses, or white lotuses, born in the water, grown up in the water, do not emerge over the water, but thrive hidden under the water; and other blue lotuses, or water-roses, or white lotuses, born in the water, grown up in the water, reach to the surface of the water; and other blue lotuses, or water-roses, or white lotuses, born in the water, grown up in the water, stand emerging out of the water, and the water does not touch them.

“Thus, the Blessed One, looking over the world with his eye of a Buddha saw beings whose mental eyes were darkened.....and when he had thus seen them, he addressed Brahm Sahampati in the following stanza: ‘Wide opened is the door of the Immortal to all who have ears to hear; let them send forth faith to meet it. The Dhamm sweet and good I spake not, Brahm! despairing of the weary task, to men.

“Then Brahm Sahampati understood: ‘The Blessed One grants my request that He should preach the doctrine.’ And he bowed down before the Blessed One, and passed round him with his right side toward him; and then he straightway disappeared.”⁽¹⁾

But still this was the psychological moment of doubt when Mar appeared upon the scene, and this is how the Master himself described it to his favourite disciple—Anand: “Then came,” he said, “Mar, the wicked one, unto me—coming up to me, he placed himself at my side; standing at my side, Anand, Mar—the wicked one, spoke unto me, saying: ‘Enter now into Nirvan, Exalted One, enter Nirvan, Perfect One: now is the time of Nirvan arrived for the Exalted One! As he thus spoke, I replied, Anand, to Mar,—the wicked one, saying, ‘I shall not enter Nirvan, thou wicked one, until I shall have gathered monks as my disciples, who are wise and instructed, intelligent hearers of the word, acquainted with the Doctrine, experts in the Doctrine, and the Second Doctrine, versed in the Ordinances, walking in the Law, to propagate, teach, promulgate, explain, formulate, analyse, what they have heard from the Master, to annihilate and exterminate by their knowledge any heresy which arises, and preach the Doctrine with wonder-working. I shall not enter Nirvan, thou wicked one, until I shall have gained nuns as my disciples, who are both wise and instructed. I shall not enter Nirvan, thou wicked one, until the life of holiness which I point out, has been successful, grown in favour, and extended among all mankind, and is in vogue

(1) Mahavagga 1.5.2 et. seq; 13 S.B.E. 84-88.

and thoroughly made known to all men."

But all this was *post facto*—what he had then decided was to disseminate his views and enlist disciples. He felt that the strength within him justified the course he was taking and fortunately, (the legend recites through the inspiration of a deity) two merchants—Tapisya and Bhalika⁽¹⁾—came his way and offered him food in a bowl—the only vessel in which he would partake of refreshments—which he took after his long spell of fasting. "But the merchants, Tapisya and Bhalika, when they saw that the Exalted One, when his repast was over, had washed his bowl and his hands, bowed their heads to the feet of the Exalted One, and spake to the Exalted One, saying, 'We who are here, O Sire! take refuge in the Exalted one and in His Doctrine; may the Exalted One accept us as His adherents from this day forward throughout our lives, we who have taken our refuge in Him.'"

But these were his lay-followers, not disciples. He now cast about for the latter. His thoughts first turned to his first two teachers to whom he had gone to learn, and whom he now wished to teach. But they were both dead. There remained the first disciples who had deserted him. They were staying in the holy city of Benares, and thither he went by slow stages, preaching and making converts as he proceeded from village to village. In some he was given a public ovation; and when he arrived at the city of Savatthi, the citizens volunteered to be charioteers in his service⁽²⁾. Thence he came to the Ganges, and he bade the ferryman cross. "Good man," he said, "convey me across the Ganges, may the seven blessings be thine." But the ferryman demanded the toll. "I carry none across unless he pays the fee"—to which Buddha replied. "I have nothing, what shall I give?" and the legend records that he flew across through the sky like the king of birds; which disguises the fact that some one paid for him. However, the fact became known to King Bimbeshwar who promptly abolished the toll for all

(1) Sk. "Tapisya"—"Penance" or (2) *Buddh Charitra* XV—98; 49 S.B.E.
 "devotion." The correct word for 170,
 "Bhalika" cannot be guessed.

ascetics⁽¹⁾. His first visit to Benares is thus described in the Mahavagga⁽²⁾ which is almost the only record of this portion of his life.

“And the Blessed One, wandering from place to place, came to Benares, to the Deer park Isipatan (now Sarnath,) to the place where the five Bhikkhus were. And the five Bhikkhus saw the Blessed One coming from afar; when they saw him, they concerted with each other, saying, ‘Friends, there come the Saman Gautam, who lives in abundance, who has given up his exertions, and who has turned to an abundant life. Let us not salute him; not rise from our seats when he approaches; nor take his bowl and his robe from his hands. But let us put there a seat; if he likes, let him sit down’.

“But when the Blessed One gradually approached near unto those five Bhikkhus, the five Bhikkhus kept not their agreement. They went forth to meet the Blessed One; one took his bowl and his robe, another prepared a seat, a third one brought water for the washing of the feet, a foot-stool, and a towel. Then the Blessed One sat down on the seat they had prepared; and when he was seated, the Blessed One washed his feet. Now they addressed the Blessed One by his name, and with the appellation ‘Friend.’

“When they spoke to him thus, the Blessed One said to the five Bhikkhus: ‘Do not address, O Bhikkhus, the Tathagat by his name, and with the appellation “Friend.” The Tathagat, O Bhikkhus, is the holy, absolute Sambuddh. Give ear, O Bhikkhus! The immortal (Anrat) has been won (by me); I will teach you; to you I preach the doctrine. If you walk in the way I show you, you will, ere long, have penetrated to the truth, having yourselves known it and seen it face to face; and you will live in the possession of that highest goal of the holy life, for the sake of which noble youths fully give up the world and go forth into the houseless state.

“When he had spoken thus, the five monks said to the Blessed One: ‘By those observances, Friend Gautam, by

(1) *Buddh Charitra* XV—100; 49 S.B.E. 170.

(2) *Mahavagga* 1-6-10 et seq. This is

corroborated by a summarized account in the *Buddh Charitra* XV, 101-119; 49 S.B.E. 170—173.

those practices, by those austerities, you have not been able to obtain power surpassing that of men, nor the superiority of full and holy knowledge and insight. How will you now, living in abundance, having given up your exertions, having turned to an abundant life, be able to obtain power surpassing that of men, and the superiority of full and holy knowledge and insight ?

“When they had spoken thus, the Blessed One said to the five Bhikkhus: ‘The Tathagat, O Bhikkhus, does not live in abundance, he has not given up exertion, he has not turned to an abundant life. The Tathagat is, O Bhikkhus, the holy, absolute Sambuddh. Give ear, O Bhikkhus; the immortal has been won (by me); I will teach you, to you I will preach the doctrine. If you walk in the way I show you, you will, ere long, have penetrated to the truth, having yourselves known it and seen it face to face; and you will live in the possession of that highest goal of the holy life, for the sake of which noble youths fully give up the world and go forth into the houseless state.’

“And the five Bhikkhus said to the Blessed One a second time (*as above*). And the Blessed One said to the five Bhikkhus a second time (*as above*). And the five Bhikkhus said to the Blessed One a third time (*as above*).

“When they had spoken thus, the Blessed One said to the five Bhikkhus: ‘Do you admit, O Bhikkhus, that I have never spoken to you in this way before this day?’

“‘You have never spoken so, Lord.’

“The Tathagat, O Bhikkhus, is the holy absolute Sambuddh. Give ear, O Bhikkhus,” (*&c. as above*).

“And the Blessed One was able to convince the five Bhikkhus; and the five Bhikkhus again listened willingly to the Blessed One; they gave ear and fixed their mind on the knowledge (which the Buddh imparted to them).

“And the Blessed One thus addressed the five Bhikkhus: ‘There are two extremes, O Bhikkhus, which he, who has given up the world, ought to avoid. What are these two

extremes? A life given to pleasures, devoted to pleasures and lusts: this is degrading, sensual, vulgar, ignoble, and profitless; and a life given to mortifications: this is painful, ignoble, and profitless. By avoiding these two extremes, O Bhikkhus, the Tathagat has gained the knowledge of the Middle Path which leads to insight, which leads to wisdom, which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to the Sambodhi, to Nirvan'.

“ ‘ Which, O Bhikkhus, is this Middle Path, the knowledge of which the Tathagat has gained, which leads to insight, which leads to wisdom, which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to the Sambodhi, to Nirvan? It is the holy eight-fold Path, namely, Right Belief, Right Aspiration, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Endeavour, Right Memory, Right Meditation. This, O Bhikkhus, is the Middle Path, the knowledge of which the Tathagat has gained, which leads to insight, which leads to wisdom, which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to the Sambodhi, to Nirvan’.

“ ‘ This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of Suffering: birth is suffering; decay is suffering; illness is suffering; death is suffering. Presence of objects we hate, is suffering; separation from objects we love, is suffering; not to obtain what we desire, is suffering. Briefly the five-fold clinging to existence is suffering.

“ ‘ This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering: Thirst, that leads to re-birth, accompanied by pleasure and lust, finding its delight here and there. (This thirst is threefold),—namely, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst for prosperity.’

“ ‘ This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the cessation of suffering: (it ceases with) the complete cessation of this thirst,—a cessation which consists in the absence of every passion, with the abandoning of this thirst, with the doing away with it, with the deliverance from it, with the destruction of desire.’

“ ‘This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering: that holy eight-fold Path, that is to say, Right Belief, Right Aspiration, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Endeavour, Right Memory, Right Meditation.

“ ‘This is the Noble Truth of suffering; thus, O Bhikkhus, of this doctrine, which formerly had not been heard of, have I obtained insight, knowledge, understanding, wisdom, intuition. This Noble Truth of suffering must be understood; thus, O Bhikkhus, of this doctrine.....(*&c. down to ‘intuition’*). This Noble Truth of Suffering I have understood; thus, O Bhikkhus, of this doctrine,.....(*&c. down to ‘intuition’*).

“ ‘This is the Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering; thus, O Bhikkhus, (*&c.*). This Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering, must be abandoned.....has been abandoned by me; thus, O Bhikkhus, (*&c.*).’

“ ‘This is the Noble Truth of the Cessation of suffering; thus, O Bhikkhus, (*&c.*). This Noble Truth of the Cessation of suffering must be seen face to face...has been seen by me face to face; thus, O Bhikkhus, (*&c.*).

“ ‘This is the Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering; thus, O Bhikkhus, (*&c.*). This Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering, must be realised...has been realised by me; thus O Bhikkhus, (*&c.*).

“ ‘As long, O Bhikkhus, as I did not possess with perfect purity this true knowledge and insight into these four Noble Truths, with its three modifications and its twelve constituent parts, so long O Bhikkhus, I knew that I had not yet obtained the highest absolute Sambodhi in the world of men and gods, in Mar’s and Brahm’s world, among all beings, Samans and Brahmans, gods and men.

“ ‘But since I possessed, O Bhikkhus, with perfect purity this true knowledge and insight into these four Noble Truths, with its three modifications, and its twelve constituent parts,

then I knew, O Bhikkhus, that I had obtained the highest universal Sambodhi in the world of men and gods.

"And this knowledge and insight arose in my mind. 'The emancipation of my mind cannot be lost; this is my last birth; hence I shall not be born again.'

"Thus the Blessed One spoke. The five Bhikkhus were delighted, and they rejoiced at the words of the Blessed One⁽¹⁾."

The five quondam disciples of his were so impressed by his sermon, that all of them, headed by Kondanna⁽²⁾, begged to be admitted in his Order, and they were so admitted with these words: "Come near, O Monks, well-preached in the Doctrine, walk in purity to make an end to all suffering." These were his first disciples,—they and he were the first members of his Order.

But their number soon grew. Buddha himself followed the advice he gave to his disciples: "O disciples," he said, "I am loosed from all bonds, divine and human; ye also, O disciples, are loosed from all bonds, divine and human. Go ye out, O disciples, and travel from place to place for the welfare of many people, for the joy of many people, in pity for the world, for the blessing, welfare and joy of gods and men. Go not in one way to one place. Preach, O disciples, the law, the beginning of which is noble, in spirit and in letter; preach the whole and full, pure of holiness. There are beings, who are pure from the dust of the earthly, but if they hear not the gospel of the law, they perish: they shall understand the law. But I, O disciples, go to Uruvela, to the village of the general, to preach the law." Before doing so, he had made some more converts in Benares, amongst whom was Yash,⁽³⁾ (Yasa) scion of a wealthy house at Benares. His parents followed the example of their son and on his death, his widow did the same. Yash not only became himself a convert, but by his exertion and influence got many to join the

(1) *Mahavagga* 1.6.10-29 13 S.B.E.
91-97.

(2) Lit "The Knower."

(3) Sk. "Yash"—"success."

brotherhood whose number soon rose to sixty. Men and women flocked to listen to his lectures. They were entranced and whether from curiosity or conviction, Brahmans, and non-Brahmans, men and women were admitted into the brotherhood. For instance, here at Benares he had converted no less than thirty Brahmans, officiating priests, to his faith, and from the other rung of the ladder, robbers⁽¹⁾ and harlots. One such harlot by name Kasikal with her two sons joined the order at Benares itself⁽²⁾. But this is not all. Men and women flocked to him from distant parts: a woman ascetic from Mathura named Trikavyamgika, a Brahman named Vid'yakar and his son—Sabhya, residing at Shvetbalark, travelled up to the Deer Park to receive their baptism. Of these Sabhya became distinguished as a preacher of the new gospel.⁽³⁾ A number of Brahman and other ascetics, residing in the Vindhya, similarly succumbed to his spell. The new gospel had taken root in Benares. He charged his disciples to be true to the faith and to preach it to the surrounding world.

Buddh sent them out in all directions to make more converts, while he reserved an area for his own visit. He went from village to village, staying a night at each and making converts. His attractive personality and his persuasive speech, coupled with the fact that he was a hermit-prince, brought to him a crowd of followers, who were promised eternal bliss in return for nothing but the ordinary courtesies which were purely voluntary. "Whoever, Sirs, hears, sees, and welcomes with joy this methodical arrangement of the law, which is a mine of happiness and prosperity, and honours it with folded hands, shall attain pre-eminent strength with a glorious form and limbs, and a retinue of the holy, and an intelligence of the highest reach, and the happiness of perfect contemplation, with a deep calm of uninterrupted bliss, with his senses in their highest perfection, and illuminated by unclouded knowledge. He shall assuredly attain these eight pre-eminent per-

(1) *Buddh Charit* XVII—16; 49
S.B.E. p. 195.

(2) *Ib.* XVII—2; 49 S.B.E. 190.
(3) *Ib.* XVII—4; 49 S.B.E. 191.

fections, who hears and sees this law with a serene soul and worships it with folded hands. Whoever in the midst of the assembly shall gladly offer a pulpit to the high-minded teacher of the great law, that virtuous man shall assuredly attain the seat of the most excellent, and also the seat of a house-holder and the throne of a universal monarch" (1). And much to the same effect. It was sufficient to drive the rustics to the ranks of the Order.

Hinduism was then unorganized, its forces were weak and scattered. It is true, its most outstanding feature—the caste, had seized hold of the people; but its hold was weak; and it was rendered weaker by the Buddhistic onslaught. For Buddha did not recognize caste. He made his converts from all castes, as he drew them from all classes. So when the Brahmans questioned him about caste, he said: "Do not ask about descent, but ask about conduct; from wood, is true fire born; likewise from man, although belonging to a low family, many become noble, when restrained from sinning by humility" (2). Such was the case at Uruvela, where there lived a thousand Brahman Sadhus, who kept alive the sacred fire of sacrifice according to the Vedic rites and performed their ablutions in the river Niranjana. (3) He met similar success elsewhere. At Uruvela he converted the daughters of Namdik Sujat and others. It appears that in his first mission he made a large number of Brahman converts;—those who were versed in the Vedas and those who were regarded as the hierophants of their faiths—priests and high priests, with all their families, men and women—accepted his creed. (4) He visited his previous haunts, where he had tarried for knowledge. He now returned to impart it. At Rajgrah he had been to Udrak's monastery. He had 700 disciples and they all accepted the faith and received their staves and bowls from the hands of Buddha. There he stayed for two years preaching and converting and consolidating the ground won.

(1) *Buddh Charitra* XVI—87—92; 49 S.B.E. p. 184, 185.

(2) *Mahavagga* IV—9; 10 S.B.E. p. 75.

(3) *Buddh Charitra* XVII—8; 49 S.B.E. p. 192.

(4) *Ib.* XVII—10-12; 49 S.B.E. 193.

Here he is said to have performed miracles, offering wealth to those who needed it, curing the halt, the lame, the insane and the blind⁽¹⁾ and healing the sick,⁽²⁾ and solving many doubts. Thus he was asked by his young disciple—Magh, what was the use of riches. To which Gautam replied, “Charity.” Then he was asked whether his disciples should offer oblations to their deceased ancestors, to which the Perfect One replied that they had no ancestors after they had taken the vow. Then he was asked—“Is a Brahman born or made—whether he acquires his caste by birth or by deed?” Gautam pointed out that as the grass differs from the tree, worms and moths from the four-footed animals, fish from birds, so, there are no distinctive features in a Brahman and a non-Brahman. Caste, he said, was occupational. For whoever amongst men lives by cow-keeping.....he is a husbandman, not a Brahman... ..and whoever amongst men lives by trade.....he is a merchant...and whoever amongst men lives by serving is a servant, not a Brahman, so I do not call one a Brahman on account of his birth or of his origin from a particular mother.....but the one who is possessed of nothing and seizes upon nothing, him I call a Brahman: whosoever, after cutting all bonds, does not tremble, has taken off all ties and is liberated, him I call a Brahman.....the man who has a profound understanding, who is wise, who knows the true way and the wrong way, who has attained the highest good—him I call a Brahman.....The man who is not hostile amongst the hostile, who is peaceful amongst the violent, not seizing upon anything amongst those that seize upon everything,—him I call a Brahman..... The man who is undaunted like a bull, who is eminent, a hero, a great sage, victorious, free from desire, purified, enlightened—him I call a Brahman”⁽³⁾ He then added that caste is only by common consent, and birth cannot make one a Brahman any more than a non-Brahman. It is by work and merit, by his wisdom, piety and self-sacrifice, that one becomes a Brahman.

(1) *Buddh Charitra* XVII—25; 49 S.B.E. 198.

(2) *Ib.* XVII—15; 49 S.B.E. 191.

(3) The text gives only an abstracted quotation from the long sermon: *Mahavagga* IX—163; 10 S.B.E. p. 107—116.

In one of his wanderings he fell upon a nest of five hundred robbers to whom he preached and at whose hands he ate. They were all reclaimed and converted, and exchanged their tools of burglary for the bowls and staves of piety⁽¹⁾.

In this way Buddha spent twelve years of his ministry, preaching and converting. His missionaries became now scattered in all directions. For eight or nine dry months of the year he and they wandered about, following a settled plan which the assembled brotherhood in the monsoon discussed every year. In India this has been the usual plan of business since time immemorial. All business begins in October and ends in June, the intervening months being spent within the bosom of one's family, in feasting and fasting, rest and recuperation. It is not only the ascetic, but the merchant and the thief that has to bow to the inevitable. So the old Maratha freebooters, who extended their pillaging campaign to the heart of Bengal, knew how impossible it was to ford the rivulets, which swell into suiging torrents during the rains; the roads, none too well paved in the dry weather, become one long stream of slush and quagmire, the mountains are impassable, as the rank vegetation, that comes up almost with the first fall of rain, obliterates all traces of the foot-path. The mango-groves, under which travellers bivouac for the night, are converted into shallow cesspools. The villages are likewise immersed in wet and damp and the village rest-houses are closed down; because, uninhabitable as they are in fair weather, they become death-traps in the rains. Better roads and the invention of Railways have altered many of the old habits of the people; but this habit remains; because the old inconveniences may have become ameliorated—but they have not disappeared.

Life of the Buddhist monks followed then this annual routine. In fair weather the brethren joined in batches their appointed circuits. But with the advent of June or July⁽²⁾ they all met at their Monsoon camp fixed in the vicinity of a

(1) *Mahavagga*. XVII—16; 49 S.B.E. p. 185.

(2) This retreat lasted 3 or 4 months—the longer began from the full moon of Ashadh (June) and the shorter one from the full moon of Shravan; both ending with

the full moon of Kartik, *M.V.* III—3; 135 S.B.E. 300; Hiung Tsang says that this period was three months from the first of Shravan to the first of Kartik—*Records* II—492.

town or under the hospitable roof of a brother-devotee. During the rains Buddha held daily classes. He imparted knowledge and answered questions. The monks, on the other hand, gave an account of their evangelizing mission, introduced rich converts or those who sought conversion at the hands of the Master, learnt their lessons and prepared for the next itinerary. The monsoon camp of Buddha (called the Vassa) ⁽¹⁾ was thus a busy hive thronged by worshippers, earnest inquirers and listeners to the daily discourses. These camps were always fixed in a place of some delightful sylvan solitude, on a river-bank and on a mountain-top in the midst of *Sal* forest, where the monks built temporary hermitages for their shelter and out of which they worked according to the strictest routine.

Once, on his way to Rajgrah, Buddha stopped at Gaya, where resided a family who were pillars of Brahman orthodoxy. They belonged to the family of Kashyap (Kassapa) who maintained a large monastery called Uruvil,⁽²⁾ and had under them a thousand pupils trained in the Vedic rites. They kept alive the sacred fire of sacrifice and bathed in the river Niranjani (Neranjana). Their head-priest, Kashyap—was a very *Kuver* for wealth; he was equally firm in his faith. Buddha tried to reason with him, but in vain, and he is said to have resorted to miracles. There lived in Kashyap's sacrificial chamber the King of serpents whom he tamed by his occult power. The high-priest was surprised, but yet not convinced till a shower of miracles brought Kashyap to his senses. Buddha took his abode in the forest near Kashyap's hermitage. He delivered a series of discourses which even gods attended to hear. They shone like flaming lights all night. Kashyap was moved, but yet hesitated to acknowledge Buddha who reflected: "This simpleton will long continue thinking; the great Saman is very powerful and mighty, but he is not holy as I am. So then I shall work on this hermit's heart." He then told Kashyap, "Thou art not holy, Kashyap, nor hast thou found the

(1) *Sk. Varshik*, also *Vassu Panayik*. (2) *Budda Charitra* XVII-8; 46
Sk. Varshopanayik—Divya Vadana 18; S.B.E. 192.
Mahavamsapatti § 266.

path of holiness ; and thou knowest nothing of the way by which thou canst be holy and mayest reach the path of holiness." Kashyap reflected and yielded and addressing the Exalted One spake : " Grant me, O Sire, to receive the degrees of initiation, the lower and the higher." Thus Kashyap and his disciples joined the Order, and Kashyap, the chief of ascetics, became the foremost of the Arhats⁽¹⁾. This led to the wholesale conversion of Kashyap's other relations and their pupils. Henceforward Buddha's progression from village to village was a triumphal march and converts came to him, not in hundreds but in thousands. The legends on this point are numerous, though extremely monotonous ; but they disclose that Buddha had gained a firm foothold in Benares, Gaya and its purlieus. He now proceeded to visit Rajgrah, the capital of Magadh. Here in the capital of his family-friend, King Bimbeshwar (Bimbisara), Buddha had his most notable converts. He entered the city, attended by his retinue of monks, who had by this time become quite numerous. Some three to five hundred of them formed his escort. He was accompanied by the famous divine Kashyap (Kassapa) whom he had converted at Uruvela. As usual, he entered the city at the head of his monks, and fixed his camp in the bamboo-grove outside the town. When Bimbeshwar heard of it, he took with him a large following of Brahmans and citizens, exaggerated in the text to " twelve myriads." He had heard of the exploits of his old friend at Benares and elsewhere. On this occasion, Buddha and Kashyap sat side by side and the people, when they saw them, did not know who was the Master and who the pupil. Kashyap promptly solved their dilemma by rising from his seat, laying his head at Buddha's feet and repeating these words : " Sire ! My Master is the Exalted One : I am his pupil." Buddha then addressed a sermon to the King and his retinue, who were deeply moved, and of whom, the King and several of his retainers immediately became lay converts to Buddhism and the King remained one of his truest friends and patrons.

(1) *Buddh Charitra* XVII.—12 ; 49 S.B.E. 103, 104.

The King's example was followed by his numerous subjects including two notable men, by name Sariputra (Sariputta) and Mogaman, who attained to great distinction in the Buddhist Church. These conversions alarmed the populace, who thought that 'if the whole of Magadh were to turn ascetic, what would become of their country?'—They complained : "The ascetic Gautam is come to bring childlessness: the ascetic Gautam is come to bring subversion of families. Already hath he turned the thousand hermits into his disciples, and he hath made the two hundred and fifty mendicant-disciples of Sanjat his disciples, and now these many distinguished and noble youths of the Magadh kingdom are betaking themselves to the ascetic Gautam to lead a religious life."

That this apprehension was not wholly unjustifiable will be seen from the fact that King Bimbeshwar had taken up the cause of Buddhism in real earnest. He had issued instruction to his eighty thousand village head-men on the tenets of his faith and then sent them to Buddh to receive further instructions. His disciple—Sujat received them and introduced them to the Exalted One, in whose presence he performed several striking miracles. The elders wondered at the miracles of the disciple and thought that if these be the wonders of the child, what must be those of the father. Buddh expounded to them his doctrine in several progressive stages, first on unrighteousness, corruption, vanity, and the impurity of desires, next on the glory of being free from desires; thus when he felt that his listeners' thoughts were prepared and elevated, he discoursed to them on the origin of suffering and the way to remove it, with the result that "as a clean garment, from which all impurity is removed, wholly absorbs within itself the dye, so opened in these eighty thousand village elders, as they sat there, the pure moteless eye of the truth: whatever is subject to the law of origination—all such is subject to the law of decease. And discerning the doctrine, having pierced to the doctrine, knowing the doctrine, sinking themselves in the the doctrine, overcoming doubts, free from vacillation, having

penetrated to knowledge, needing nothing else in their faith in the Master's doctrine, they spoke to the Exalted One thus: 'Excellent Sire, as a man, O Sire, straightens that which is bowed down, or uncovers the hidden, or shows the the way to one who has gone astray, or shows a light in the darkness, so that he who has eyes may be able to see the forms of things, even so has the Exalted One proclaimed the doctrine in manifold discourses: we, O Sire! take our refuge with the Exalted One, and with the doctrine and with the order of his disciples; may the Exalted One receive us as his lay disciples, for from this day henceforth we have taken our refuge with him as long as our life endures.'

It will be easily imagined how widespread must have been the effect of these conversions. The headmen of the village must have spread the doctrine in their villages, and wholesale conversion of the villages must have been the result.

That Buddhism had completely supplanted Brahmanism in the kingdoms of Magadh and Koushal appears to be clear from the ancient records. So far as Koushal is concerned, it was Shakya Muni's home, and the home of his clan, who were naturally attracted to his banner. They had heard of their kinsman's success elsewhere and they felt naturally proud of the fact, and the least they could do was to offer themselves for enlistment in his ranks. But there is no authentic or connected history of his proselytizing mission to that country, though we meet with frequent references of his conversion of Kushal (Koshala) where he appears to have converted the people *en masse* as he did in Magadh. His disciples were for the most part scions of influential and opulent families. European scholars think this a blot on Buddhism in comparison with Christianity. So, comparing Buddhism with Christianity, Prof. Monier-Williams wrote: "Then, although each made use of missionary agency, the one sent forth his high-born learned monks as missionaries to the world at the commencement of his own career, giving them no divine commission, the other waited till the close of His own ministry, and then said to His low-born, unlearned disciples. 'As my

Father hath sent me, even do I send you (1).' This is sheer hyper-criticism with which the book abounds. It betrays ignorance of the country in the seventh century B.C. As has been already pointed out, education in those days was the birth-right of the priests, a privilege of the Kshatriya: the Vaishya needed it only so far as it was necessary for his business, while the Shudra did not at all need it. Now as Buddha drew his converts from all castes and all classes, it was inevitable that his mission should have been most successful with the literate and thoughtful classes; and as there were necessarily the high-born, his first recruits naturally came from that class.

But wherever Buddha went, he naturally went first to the leading families, as the Christian missionary does to-day. These, in their turn, popularised his creed with the masses, sometimes by means, of which Buddha himself would not have approved. For instance, when he visited Kushinagar (Kushinara), the Mallas, who were the ruling family there, went out to meet him, and upon return issued an edict: "Whoever goeth not to meet the Exalted One is liable to a penalty of five hundred pieces,"—was this limiting the doctrine to the rich? The Brahmans had kept women under abject subjection. They were ordained to ever-dependence. It was Buddha who emancipated them, admitted them into his Order, and extended to them his unstinted blessings; and women were amongst some of his most devoted disciples: Such was Vishakha, a rich widow living at Savathi, the capital of Koushal (Kosala), mother of many blooming children and the grand-mother of countless grand-children. As a citizen, she was accorded the first place in her town. She was always invited to sacrificial ceremonies and banquets and allotted the place of honour. When she heard of Buddha's projected visit to Koushal, she made grand preparations to receive him. She received Buddha as her honoured guest. One day when Buddha was dining with her with his disciples, she approached him and said: "Eight requests, Sire, I make of the Exalted

(1) *Buddhism* 355, 356.

One." "The Perfect One is too exalted to grant every wish," said he. "What is allowable, Sine, and what is unblameable?" "Then speak Vishakha!"

"I desire, Lord, my life-long to bestow robes for the rainy season on the Sangh, and food for in-coming Bhikkhus, and food for outgoing Bhikkhus, and food for the sick, and food for those who wait upon the sick, and medicine for the sick, and a constant supply of congey and bathing robes for the nuns."

"But what circumstance is it, O Vishakha, that you have in view in asking these eight boons of the Tathagat?"

"I gave command, Lord, to my slave-girl, saying, 'Go thou to the Arama; and when you are there, announce the time, saying, 'The time, Sirs, has arrived and the meal is ready.' And the slave-girl went, Lord, to the Arama but when she beheld there the Bhikkhus with their robes thrown off, letting themselves be rained down upon, she thought: 'These are not Bhikkhus in the Arama, they are naked ascetics letting the rain fall on them,' and she returned to me and reported accordingly. Impure, Lord, is nakedness and revolting. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring my life-long to provide the Sangh with special garments for use in the rainy season."

"Moreover, Lord, an in-coming Bhikkhu, not being able to take the direct roads, and not knowing the places where food can be procured, comes on his way wearied out by seeking for alms. But when he has partaken of the food I shall have provided for in-coming Bhikkhus, he will come on his way without being wearied out by seeking for alms, taking the direct road, and knowing the place where food can be procured. It was this circumstance that I had in view in desiring to provide the Sangh my life-long with food for in-coming Bhikkhus."

"Moreover, Lord, an out-going Bhikkhu, while seeking about for alms for himself, may be left behind by the caravan, or may arrive too late at the place whither he desires

to go, and will set out on the road in weariness. But when he has partaken of the food I shall have provided for out-going Bhikkhus, he will not be left behind by the caravan; he will arrive in due time at the place whither he desires to go, and he will set out on the road, when he is not weary. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the Sangh, my life-long, with food for out-going Bhikkhus.

“Moreover, Lord, if a sick Bhikkhu does not obtain food, his sickness may increase upon him or he may die. But if a Bhikkhu has taken the diet that I shall have provided for the sick, neither will his sickness increase upon him nor will he die. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the Sangh, my life-long, with diet for the sick.

“Moreover, Lord, a Bhikkhu who is waiting upon the sick, if he has to seek out food for himself, may bring in the food (to the invalid) when the sun is already far on his course, and he will lose his opportunity of taking his food. But when he has partaken of the food I shall have provided for those who wait upon the sick, he will bring in food to the invalid in due time, and he will not lose his opportunity of taking his food. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the Sangh, my life-long, with food for those who wait upon the sick.

“Moreover, Lord, if a sick Bhikkhu does not obtain suitable medicines, his sickness may increase upon him, or he may die. But if a Bhikkhu has taken the medicines which I shall have provided for the sick, neither will his sickness increase upon him, nor will he die. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the Sangh, my life-long, with medicines for the sick.

“Moreover, Lord, the Blessed One, when at Andhakavinda, having in view the ten advantages thereof, allowed the use of congey. It was those advantages I had in view, Lord, in desiring to provide the Sangh, my life-long, with a constant supply of congey.

"Now, Lord, the Bhikkhunis are in the habit of bathing in the river Akiravati, with the courtesans at the same landing-place and naked. And the courtesans, Lord, ridiculed the Bhikkhunis saying, "What is the good, ladies, of your maintaining chastity when you are young? Are not the passions things to be indulged in? When you are old, maintain chastity then; thus will you be obtainers of both ends." Then the Bhikkhunis, Lord, when thus ridiculed by the courtesans, were confused. Impure, Lord, is nakedness for a woman, disgusting, and revolting. It was this circumstance, Lord, that I had in view in desiring to provide the Bhikkhuni Sangh, my life-long, with dresses to bathe in."

"But what was the advantage you had in view for yourself, O Vishakha, in asking these eight boons of the Tathagat?"

"Bhikkhus, who have spent the rainy season in various places will come, Lord, to Savatthi, to visit the Blessed One. And on coming to the Blessed One they will ask, saying, 'Such and such a Bhikkhu, Lord, has died. Where has he been re-born, and what is his destiny?' Then will the Blessed One explain that he has attained to the fruits of conversion, or of the state of the Sakadagamins, or of the state of the Anagamins, or of Arahatsip. And I, going up to them, shall ask, 'Was that brother, Sirs, one of those who had formerly been at Savatthi?'"

"If they should reply to me, 'He had formerly been at Savatthi,' then shall I arrive at the conclusion, 'For a certainty did that brother enjoy either the robes for the rainy season or the food for the in-coming Bhikkhus, or the food for the out-going Bhikkhus, or the food for the sick, or the food for those that wait upon the sick, or the medicine for the sick, or of the constant supply of congey.' Then will gladness spring up within me on my calling that to my mind; and joy will arise to me, thus gladdened; and so rejoicing, all my frame will be at peace; and being thus at peace, I shall experience a blissful feeling of content; and in that bliss my heart will be at rest; and that will be to me an exercise of my

moral sense, an exercise of my moral powers, an exercise of the seven kinds of wisdom. This, Lord, was the advantage I had in view for myself in asking those eight boons of the Blessed One."

"It is well, it is well, Vishakha. Thou hast done well in asking eight boons of the Tathagat with such advantage in view'.

"And the Blessed One gave thanks to Vishakha the mother of Migara, in these verses :

"Whatsoever woman, upright in life, a disciple of the Happy One, gives, glad at heart and overcoming avarice, both food and drink, a gift, heavenly, destructive of sorrow, productive of bliss.'

"A heavenly life does she attain, entering upon the Path that is free from corruption and impurity.'

"Aiming at good, happy does she become and free from sickness and long does she rejoice in a heavenly body'(1)."

Though Buddha had received unstinted support from the King and people of Magadh, his success at Koushal was no less great. It was at Bimbeshwar's suggestion that he started to conquer that region, and the success that rewarded his effort filled him with gratification ; so that he visited this kingdom again and again, and it was to this place that he returned again and again, and judging from the Suttras, it was here that he passed most of his later life.. It appears that Buddha's first visit to Koushal was by a pre-arrangement with its king, Prasannajit, who had invited him to his kingdom and where he converted the King. He was received in the beautiful garden of Anath Pindik (Anatha Pindika or Anatha Pindadha) the King's Minister, who had laid out a magnificent garden on land which he had purchased from the Crown Prince—Jit, and given it the name of Jitwan or Jit's wood. Anath constructed a monastery in the midst of it under shady trees, which he made over to Buddha and where he afterwards stayed for twenty-three years. He became attached to this place, because, not far

(1) *Mahavagga* VIII—15-7-14; 17 S.B.E. 219—225.

from it, his foster-mother and aunt Maha Prajapati was buried in its vicinity, and the King had added to it a large lecture-hall for the use of the Order. Maha Prajapati had joined the Order at the urgent solicitations of Anand and with these associations the place soon grew into a place of Buddhistic pilgrimages.

Hiuen Tsiang, when he visited it a thousand years later, found it covered with monasteries in the midst of the most delightful surroundings. The place was full of storied memories of the past. He was shown a place eighteen or nineteen miles to the South where Buddha had first met his father after the absence of twelve years. Ever since the sudden disappearance of his son and heir-apparent, the old disconsolate King had spared no efforts to bring his son back to his home and heritage. He had sent emissaries after emissaries to secure his return; but now that Buddha had achieved success in another field he met him and with all his family embraced his creed. The meeting of the old King with his friar-son after an age must have led to a touching scene, of which we have no record; but one can imagine the meeting of the father and son, so long separated and in such strange surroundings.

In Prasannajit's kingdom Buddha appears to have had to face an organized opposition from the Brahmans, who felt alarmed at the overthrow of their religion and the wholesale conversions of the people to the new faith. They had arranged with the people of Bhadrakar, whom they ruled at their will, that they would not admit Buddha, who was then approaching. When, however, Buddha did arrive, the first person to break the vow was a woman of Kapilvastu who had married in the town, who got out at night, scaled the walls of the city with a ladder and threw herself at the feet of Buddha to become his disciple. Her example was followed by others, including some of the richest citizens of the town, who flocked to his lectures and entered his church. The Brahmans now arranged an open debate, in which the King and the people were to be the umpires. The Brahmans

were checkmated, and the people crowded to embrace the religion of Nirvan.

Now subterfuges and arguments failing, the Brahmans resorted to menaces and threats. Attempts were made upon his life; while a stimulus was given to a counter-movement, in which Dev Dutt, Buddh's cousin and life-long enemy, joined. This movement, to which a further detailed reference will be necessary in the sequel, was started by Buddh's casteman—by name Mahavir. It was no less than another religion—Jainism, the tenets of which were little distinguishable from those of Buddhism; but it was probably the very reason for the bitterness of its attack upon a more popular creed.

When, therefore, the Sutras and the Buddhist memoirs record the triumphal progress of Buddhism, entirely ignoring the hostility of the Brahmans on the one side and of the Jains on the other, of Dev Dutt and his partizans joining the latter, and the unscrupulous attempts made to put an end to the Liberator, we have only one side of the picture and a garbled account of the proselytizing endeavour of the founder of Buddhism. In order to depict a true picture, we have to examine other records and allude to other events. But this must await a separate examination. For the present, it need only be mentioned to complete the life-story.

Buddh had now been preaching his Gospel for a period of twelve years. His name and fame was now upon every one's lips. His creed had supplanted Brahmanism and had become the State creed of the two great kingdoms of Koushal and Magadh. He now bethought himself of his home; and his son, who had by now grown up into a young man, was married and had a daughter Purvika, persuaded the King to send a message to the following effect: "Thy father and mother, some noble ladies headed by Yashoda and this thy young son have come in the hope of seeing thee, under the idea that thou art devoted to the world's salvation; what shall I tell them?" "Buddh was naturally touched with the message and he decided to revisit his home, which he started to do in a great

procession accompanied by his monks and the citizens, Brahman and Rudra being at their head, with great triumph and noise of musical instruments" ⁽¹⁾. He visited the fig tree under which he was born and there he met his wife Gopi, his other wives Yashodhara and Utpalvarna, his daughter Saodhani Kaushika, Paurvika, daughter of his son—Rahul and other relations to whom he addressed an affectionate discourse. He then performed the obsequial rites of his mother by the tank Vastya, and received into the community some members of his own family headed by Sundaranand and one hundred and seven citizens. ⁽²⁾ He converted several women led by his own wife, whose heads were shaved and whose hands were provided with staves and who were admitted into the higher rank of his Order. He then proceeded to Kapilvastu where he met his father who requested him to stay on and assume the sovereignty of his state. But Buddh would not hear of it. He suggested that the succession to the throne should go to his grandson, Saunava, as his son Rahul had himself joined his Order, which the reluctant King had to accede to. The old King himself became a willing recruit to his Order and so did the members of his family and of his clan.

The legends touching his home-coming give further details. As previously stated, his old father had kept himself closely in touch with the erratic career of his truant son. He had sent missions after missions and messengers after messengers to reclaim him. He was, however, recalcitrant.

Years rolled by, but the old disconsolate King had not abandoned hopes. He had heard of the growing fame of his ascetic son, who had now become a renowned preacher with disciples everywhere. He again sent a message for the son's return—at least to revisit his father and his home. Buddh was now more favourably disposed to accede to his invitation. He had left home to find the way to salvation, which he had found. He 'received the emissaries and gave them a promise that he would return home, but only to pay his people a

⁽¹⁾ *Buddh Charitra* XVII.—26; 49
S.B.E. 198.

⁽²⁾ *Ib.* XVII.—27; 49 S.B.E. 198.

hurried visit. He walked back by slow stages, as was his wont, his begging bowl in hand, to revisit the gilded chamber from which, some thirteen years since, he had started on his caparisoned steed in quest of human happiness. Strictly following his ordinary routine, he halted in the Nigrodh-grove adjoining the town of Kapilvastu. His father, his uncles, with their numerous relations and dependants, came in a procession to welcome him ; but when they saw him there in a state of mendicancy accompanied by his numerous disciples in the same state, they were too abashed and turned back without inviting him to the next day's meal as was the practice.⁽¹⁾ The next day, therefore, he started at the usual hour in the morning to beg his meal from door to door through the town, which was all agog with the sight of the Prince begging for his meal. His mother ran up to the King and said: "Thy son is walking for alms from door to door." The King became deeply agitated and seizing the end of his outer robe, walked up to where Buddha was and exclaimed: "Illustrious Buddha, why do you expose us all to such shame. Do you think your father cannot support you and your monks? Was it necessary for you to go begging from door to door in my town?" "My noble father," replied Buddha, "This is the custom of our race." "How so," cried the father, "Are you not descended from an illustrious race of Kings? No one of our race before has acted so ignominiously." "My noble father," said Buddha, "You and your family may claim descent from a royal race but I claim descent from the Buddhas of old, and they have always acted so: O Father, I have now found the Law; and when one finds a treasure, to whom can he offer it more fittingly than to his own father? So do I offer it to you. Do not delay; let me share with you the treasure I have found."

Shuddhodhan spake no more. He took hold of his son's bowl and led him home. "There he was welcomed by all the household; but one of them was missing. It was his own

(1) *Jataka Nidan Katha* (Routledge) 222; *But* *ib.* 6 No. 547 (Camb) 246 the older men refused to pay homage to Buddha who was younger to them in years.

wife Yashodhara. She was not there. She had studiously kept herself away, as she wanted to test his love and see if her husband would miss her and ask for her presence." Gautam understood why she was not present. He exclaimed: "The princess is not free from desires, as I am. She is sorrowing alone, because she has not seen me so long. Let her embrace me, lest her heart should break." And so saying he entered her chamber. The princess looked at him and took it all in a single moment. Instead of the Prince with waving tresses and flowing beard, there stood before her a shaven mendicant. She fell down to kiss his feet: She held them and wept." The father told him of her devotion to him, saying, "When my daughter heard, O Master, that you had put on the yellow robes, from that time forth she dressed only in yellow, when she heard of your taking but one meal a day, she adopted the same custom; when she heard that you renounced the use of elevated couches, she slept on a mat spread on the floor, when she heard you had given up the use of garlands and unguents, she also used them no more. And when her relations sent a message, saying, 'Let us take care of you,' she paid them no attention at all. Such are my daughter's virtues, O Blessed One."⁽¹⁾

The next day his step-brother—Nand, (called Anand in the canonical books) his old playmate and the companion of his youth and afterwards his faithful disciple and companion till his death, was to be married, and arrangements had been made for its pompous celebration by holding a great festival.

Gautam went up to the pavilion where Nand was lodged, and told him that "the greatest festival of all is the life of a monk who has vanquished all evil desires, acquired the knowledge of truth, and Nirvan." He then gave him his own alms-bowl and took him to the grove where he had been staying. He persuaded him to join the Order. Nand was at first unwilling; but on the persuasion of his brother, he took the vow and history records him to have been his most devoted disciple. Buddh was now trying to convert his other relations.

⁽¹⁾ *Jatāk, Nidān Katha 225.*

One day his wife sent young Rahul to his father to ask him for his heritage. Rahul is stated to have asked his mother where his father was, adding that he did not know that he ever had a father. His mother pointed him out of the window: "Look" she said, "that monk whose appearance is so glorious, he is your father." Rahul went to him, touched his feet and told him how happy he felt to see him! Gautam blessed him. He then asked his father for his inheritance saying: "Father I am the Prince! when I am crowned a king over all the earth, I have need of the treasure; for a son is heir to his father's property;" at which Buddha turning to Sariputra said: "Beloved disciple, Rahul has come to ask me for his inheritance. He asks for a worldly inheritance which cannot last. I will give him a spiritual inheritance which would be everlasting. Let him be admitted to our Order." When Shuddhodhan heard of it, he was greatly distressed. He said that he had already lost his two sons—and now he had lost even his grand-son. He went to Gautam and complained and asked him to make it a rule not to admit children to his Order without their parents' consent, to which he readily assented.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM HIS RETURN TO THE END.

After his return from Kapilvastu, Buddha appears to have settled down to the practice of routine which, he said, he had already settled during the first twelve years of his ministry. As already stated, there is no sequent chronicle of his later years. But the incidental references in the canonical books, notably the Mahavagga, give some clue to the life of the Master, till its close. That work is a collection of his connected essays on the rules and conduct of the monks, of which a synopsis has already been given in the Introduction. It frequently, though casually, refers to the "Blessed One's movements," which appear to have been controlled from three principal centres—Rajgrah, Benares and Savitthi, to each of which places Buddha paid recurrent visits and in each of which he had built large monasteries, equipped with adequate lecture-halls where periodical lectures were delivered both to the clergy and the laity. Thus we know that at Rajgrah fortnightly lectures were thrice delivered; and it is possible that the local needs of his other centres were similarly met. It is also clear from the narrative that before starting from these headquarters Buddha's itinerary was fixed beforehand, as he generally travelled at the head of a large retinue of Bhikkhus numbering several hundreds and sometimes several thousands. The towns and places he had decided to visit, had to make previous arrangement for his reception, and the usual procedure was for the citizens to entertain the party by turns, though sometimes some one, more zealous or charitably disposed, would undertake the entire responsibility for his entertainment. Before paying a visit Buddha's vanguard of monks would visit the place and settle all details as to his accommodation,—the persons whom the honour of a personal visit from the Master was to be accorded, those who were to be presented to him and those who were ready to be accepted into the faith. The requirements of the monks were well known. They would only put up in a grove or camp fixed outside the city walls.

If the ground was wet, sand was spread ; otherwise, grass or leaves. Small temporary huts were put up in other places ; but it was necessary to provide for the monsoon halt, lasting three months and in winter. In the three radiating centres of Buddhism, permanent buildings had already been erected to accommodate the fraternity when they visited them in their circuits ; but elsewhere, the arrangements were temporary, yet so made as to insure the comfort of the visitors and which followed an invitation of which the founder had many from which he, at times, had to make a selection. The Mahavagga mentions forty-five place-names in connection with his itinerary, but there can be no doubt that Buddha must have visited every town and place of note in the two kingdoms.

The procedure on arrival had by now become stereotyped. All leading residents of the town were accorded the honour of a personal visit from the Master. They, in turn, returned his call, taking with them the leading citizens, who listened to the discourse on the one problem of life and death which Buddha had made his own. These sermons were preached with consummate dialectical skill, of which clear hints occur in the Mahavagga. The Master would first deliver an introductory discourse, explaining to the audience what they already knew ; he would then criticize its short-comings and then offer them his own solution. As a rule, this was enough in most cases ; but when at times the Master met some one who was prepared to discuss the subject with him, he adopted the Socratic method of questions and first demolished the questioner's theory, after which he felt the ground clear for the establishment of his own. This was the work done in the open season. In the rains the fraternity assembled in a central camp where they gave an account of the work accomplished and prepared their future programme. A detailed account of this work will have to be presently given. For the present it will suffice if we merely referred to it here.

As the followers grew in number and the number of missionary monks multiplied, the Master must have found his time fully occupied by building up a constitution for the Church.

The Mahavagga contains a record of the points he had decided. It shows the diversity of his activities. He was the final judge in all ecclesiastical matters and the monks, when they disagreed amongst themselves, referred to him all points of dispute and, of course, accepted his decision without question. If his decision was found to raise great points or had to be rescinded or modified, it was referred to him and he generally met the difficulty by rescinding or modifying his previous decision in the manner suggested. The smallest minutiae of the Order could not be settled without reference to him. What the Bhikkhus should eat, what they should avoid, when and how often to eat, what clothes they should wear, whether they should wear shoes, and, if so, of what colour and pattern, should they be leathern, wooden or made of leaves, should their legs be covered, how should they procure cloth for their garments, how and with what they should be dyed, and how and where they should be put out to dry—these and numerous other questions were examined and settled with scrupulous care by the Messiah.

A single example will suffice to shew the relation of the monks to their chief. The former had obtained offerings of robes of various kinds, so that the orange-coloured uniform, which the fraternity wore, was getting varied. So they questioned the Blessed One: "I allow you," he said, "O Bhikkhus, six kinds of robes,—viz., those made of linen, of cotton, of silk, of wool, of coarse cloth, and of hempen cloth." ⁽¹⁾ Then arose the next question. The robes were then procured from the rubbish bin or the cemetery. How were they all to obtain them from that source? The rule had to be relaxed and the robes could be procured from elsewhere. Then there arose the question of dyeing them. They were then dyed with cow-dung or with yellow clay. ⁽²⁾ They complained to the Blessed One, who permitted them to be dyed with vegetable dyes.

"At that time the Bhikkhus dyed cloth with unboiled dye; the cloth became evil-smelling."

⁽¹⁾ *Mahavagga* VIII—3—1; 17 S.B.E. ⁽²⁾ *Mahavagga* VIII—10—1; 17 S.B.E. 204. 196, 197.



(5) Sarnath, Stone Statue of Buddha seated cross-legged.



“ They told this thing to the Blessed one. ‘ I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you boil the dye (and use) little dye-pots.’

“ They spilt the dye.

“ ‘ I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you put basins (under the dye-pots) to catch the spilt (dye).’

“ At that time the Bhikkhus did not know whether the dye was boiled or not.

“ They told this thing to the Blessed One. ‘ I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you let a drop of dye fall into water, or on to your nail (in order to try if the dye is duly boiled)’

“ At that time the Bhikkhus, when pouring the dye out (of the pot) upset the pot ; the pot was broken.

“ They told this thing to the Blessed one. ‘ I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you use a dye ladle or a scoop with a long handle.’

“ At that time the Bhikkhus did not possess vessels for keeping dye. They told this thing to the Blessed One.

“ ‘ I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you get jars and bowls for keeping the dye.’

“ At that time the Bhikkhus rubbed the cloth against the vessels and the bowls (in which they dyed it); the cloth was rent.

“ They told this thing to the Blessed One.

“ ‘ I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you use a (large) trough for dying cloth in ’ ” (1).

But this is only one page of the Mahavagga. There are a thousand pages written in the same strain, which shew how the monks were tied hand and foot to the Blessed One and to what extent his time must have been occupied with settling the minutiae of his Order.

(1) *Mahavagga* VIII—10-2, 17, S.B.E. 205.

Outside that body, he had to preach to the people and make converts, and prevent relapses and secessions.

It is, therefore, clear that if a formal record of Buddha's daily life were preserved, it could not differ from that of the proselytizing Head of a religious order to-day. At any rate, this is all we know of his daily life beyond the fact that he, like the meanest of his monk, marched on foot—his begging bowl in hand, ate what he got by begging—one meal a day, and that in the forenoon. Like the rest of them, he rose early before the sun-rise, had his ablution and then meditated; after which, he delivered a short discourse to his monks or lay followers. Then he started to obtain food without asking and without using any pressure. Whatever was thrown into his bowl was welcome. It was shared with the rest of the Bhikkhus. The general rule as to the food of the members of the Order is stated quite clearly in the Patimokkha⁽¹⁾. Early in the morning after completing the ablution, the fast was broken by eating some fruit and cake with milk or water, the principal meal of the day being taken before noon, between 11 and 12. It consisted of the single course of *dal* ⁽²⁾ which must be finished before the time when the sun casts a shadow. That was the last food of the day, though some small refreshments consisting of fruit or bread, or a sweet drink might be taken in the afternoon specially on occasions of festivity or sickness. A very detailed dietary of what comprised "hard" and what "soft" food was laid down, and the occasion for taking each prescribed. Meat was not banned, though it must not be killed for the purpose of feeding the Bhikkhus. Game was consequently permitted, but no spirituous drinks of any kind. Even at high entertainments the simplicity of diet was strictly enforced and the Master would not permit of the least invidious distinction between his own food and that of his disciples. They all messed in company and even what they got by begging was all commingled to ensure its uniform quality before service.

(1) *Pashitaya* 37; *Khuddak Path* § 2; *Buddhism* (Eng.), 160, 164, (Am.) 56, 57. *Sullavagga*, XII—2—8; Rhys. Davids' (2) "Boiled pulses or vetches."

The meal did not take long, nor was it taken far beyond a bare necessity.

Then followed a short interval of rest and repose according to the state of the season ; then study, meditation, assemblage of the brethren—pilgrims and disputants from long distances arrived to see the Blessed One. They were not disappointed. Bhikkhus from all quarters came to his rendezvous. As was usual with him, he interviewed them all and put them a few sympathetic questions such as the following : “Do things go well with you, O Bhikkhus ? Do you get enough to support yourselves with ? Have you kept *Vassa* well in unity, and in concord, and without quarrel, and have you not suffered from want of food ?”⁽¹⁾ The Bhikkhus then stated their business, asked questions, presented their difficulties. They were discussed and decided. Lay brethren were given a similar welcome and those who came, went away satisfied with the extreme kindness and courtesy of the Blessed One. The Blessed One claimed no special privilege from the fact that he was the founder of his Church. And he accorded to the visitor no special privilege because of his wealth or rank. All were welcome, kings and courtesans, men of high or low degree, and all were equally privileged to be placed on the path to salvation.

The only exceptions sanctioned were those necessitated either by necessity or obvious convenience. Such was, for instance, the relief asked for and given to the Master, when he was aged sixty, ⁽²⁾ when he found his strength failing him. He had till then been carrying his own bowl in his daily rounds, but now he found assistance necessary. Turning to the Bhikkhus he said : “ Bhikkhus, I am bent down with age and infirmities, and worn out through giving counsel to my followers ; you must appoint a Bhikkhu who will attend to my wants.” Several Bhikkhus gladly proffered their services, including the venerable Kaundinya and Mandalyan, but eventually his choice fell upon

(1) *H. p., Mahavagga*, VII—1 ; 17 S.B.E. 147.

(2) This is according to the Chinese legend—Edkins ; *Chinese Buddhism* 41 ; but in the Tibetan legends this is stated to

have occurred when he was 50—Rockhill's —*Life of Buddha* 98 in which however Buddha is quoted later as giving his own age to be 60 ; Spence Hardy's *Manual* 241.

his own cousin,—Anand, who accepted the office on three conditions, namely, that he should never have to partake of the Blessed One's food, use his underclothes or his cloak ; nor required to accompany him, when he visited a layman, and that he should be free to see and revere him at any time.

Buddh had ordained that in his Order, seniority alone entitled a disciple to precedence which could not be varied by reason of noble birth, wealth, or familiarity with the Rules and Philosophy of the Order ⁽¹⁾. The only exception made was in the case of women, who were, as a class, held in subjection to the male Bhikkhus.

Neither Buddh nor the monks received costly presents. All they wanted was food, shelter and simple clothing and these they could not hoard. The utmost munificence, which a devout benefactor may shew, was then limited to entertaining the brethren to a meal, and if he was inclined to make a gift of land, it at once passed to the Order. Even when a sugar-merchant was met on the way, all he was permitted to do was to treat the Bhikkhus to *sherbat*. He proffered to give them some sugar to take with them, but it was not allowed⁽²⁾. Even this was a treat for which the Master had to grant special dispensation. And when Vishakha entertained the Lord and his monks, the utmost that she was permitted to give was an endowment to provide the Sangh, during her life, with special garments during the rainy season and food to all in-coming and out-going Bhikkhus, and medicines to the sick and food to them and their attendants, and a constant supply of congey and bathing robes to the sisterhood.⁽³⁾

That such must have been his daily life appears from (Buddh-ghosh's) commentary on the first of the dialogues of Buddh. It is overloaded with supernatural details, but, apart from them, it portrays the underlying facts about which there can be scarcely any doubt. He says:—"For the Blessed One used to rise up early (i.e. about 5 A. M.) and, out of consideration for his personal attendant, was wont to wash and dress himself

(1) *Jacob*, No. 37 (Camb.) 12. (2) *Mahavagga* VIII—15—8—9 ; 17 S.B.E.
(3) *Mahavagga* VI—26-6 ; 17 S.B.E. 95. 221, 225.

without calling for any assistance. Then, till it was time to go on his round for alms, he would retire to a solitary place and meditate. When that time arrived, he would dress himself completely in the three robes (which every member of the Order wore in public), take his bowl in his hand and, sometimes alone, sometimes attended by his followers, would enter the neighbouring village or town for alms, sometimes in an ordinary way, sometimes wonders happening such as these:—As he went towards the village, soft breeze would waft before him cleaning the way, drops of rain would fall from the sky to lay the dust, and clouds would hover over him, spreading as it were a canopy protecting him from the sun. Other breezes would waft flowers from the sky to adorn the path; the rough places would be made plain and the crooked straight, so that before his feet the path would become smooth and the tender flowers receive his foot-steps. And betimes a halo of six hues would radiate from his form (as he stood at the threshold of the houses) illuminating with their glory, like trails of yellow, gold or streamers of grey cloth, the gables and verandahs round about. The birds and beasts around would, each in his own place, give forth a sweet and gentle sound to welcome him, and heavenly music was wafted through the air, and the jewellery of men was jingled sweetly of itself.

“At signs like these, the sons of men could know:—‘To-day it is the Blessed One who has come for alms’. Then clad in their best and brightest, and bringing garlands and nosegays with them, they would come forth into the street and, offering their flowers to the Blessed One, would vie with one another, saying, ‘To-day, Sir, take your meal with us; we will make provision for ten, and we for twenty, and we for a hundred of your followers’. So saying they would take his bowl, and, spreading mats for him and his attendant followers, would await the moment when the meal was over. Then would the Blessed One, when the meal was done, discourse to them, with due regard to their capacity for spiritual things, in such a way that some would take the layman’s vow, and some would enter on the paths, and some would reach the highest fruit thereof. And when he thus had mercy on the multitude, he would

arise from his seat and depart to the place where he had lodged. And when he had come there, he would sit in the open verandah, awaiting the time when the rest of his followers should also have finished their meal. And when his attendant announced they had done so, he would enter his private apartment. Thus was he occupied up to the mid-day meal.

“ Then afterwards, standing at the door of his chamber, he would give exhortation to the brethren such as this : ‘ Be earnest, my brethren, strenuous in effort. Hard is it to meet with a Buddha in the world. Hard is it to attain to the state of (that is, to be born as) a human being. Hard is it to find a fit opportunity. Hard is it to abandon the world. Difficult to attain is the opportunity of hearing the word’.

“ Then would some of them ask him to suggest a subject for meditation suitable to the spiritual capacity of each, and when he had done so, they would retire each to the solitary place he was wont to frequent, and meditate on the subject set. Then would the Blessed One retire within the private chamber, perfumed with flowers, and calm and self-possessed, would rest awhile during the rear of the day. Then when his body was rested he would arise from the couch and for a space consider the circumstances of the people near, that he might do them good. And at the fall of the day the folk from the neighbouring villages or town would gather together at the place where he was lodging, bringing with them offerings of flowers. And to them, seated in the lecture-hall, would he, in a manner suitable to the occasion, and suitable to their beliefs, discourse of the Truth. Then, seeing that the proper time had come, he would dismiss the folk, who, saluting him, would go away. Thus was he occupied in the afternoon.

“ Then at the close of the day, should he feel the need of the refreshment of a bath, he would bathe, while some brother of the Order attendant on him would prepare the divan in the chamber, perfumed with flowers. And in the evening he would sit awhile alone, still in all his robes, till the brethren, returned from their meditations, began to assemble.

Then some would ask him questions on things that puzzled them, some would speak of their meditations, some would ask for an exposition of the Truth. Thus would the first watch of the night pass, as the Blessed One satisfied the desire of each, and then they would take their leave. And part of the rest of the night would he spend in meditation, walking up and down outside his chamber; and part he would rest lying down, calm and self-possessed, within. And as the day began to dawn, rising from his couch he would seat himself, and calling up before his mind the folk in the world, he would consider the aspirations which they, in previous births, had formed, and think over the means by which he could help them to attain thereto".⁽¹⁾

But, of course, this routine, though usual, was not strictly adhered to. Nor could it be. If he was invited out to a meal, he would seize the opportunity to deliver a discourse; while, in places provided with lecture-halls, they would be utilized for the delivery of sermons. But this would only be in the months of cold weather, from December to February. On other days the people would meet in a grove or in some open woodland, and the lectures and discussions, interviews and audiences were prolonged till late at night, while on moonlit nights they would be extended to even the small hours of the morning.

It was Buddh's rule never to make a home anywhere. Even selected centres, such as Rajgrah, Gaya, Benares and Savitthi—he always treated as his camps. From there he would sally out frequently, always walking bare-footed with his Bhikkhus. He never used a conveyance or a pony. He would walk fifteen or twenty miles from village to village, and it was not in every village that he would make a halt. His itinerary was, as already stated, pre-arranged; though he had often to alter it, if compelled to do so by the solicitude of some one who pressed on him to break his journey.

This became more and more frequent as his popularity grew, and the fact that he was a hermit-prince added to the

(1) *Sumangal Vilasini*, 45-48; *Rys. Davids' Buddhism* (Am. Ed), 108-112.

embarrassment of his receptions. But his very success created for him fresh enemies who seemed to have arisen out of nothing. And they put new heart into his old enemies, who hemmed him in from all sides and at one time threatened his very life. Foremost amongst them was his cousin Dev Dutt whose name has already been mentioned. He had always cherished a lurking dislike for Buddh. He had competed for the hand of his bride at the tournament in which Buddh was successful. The Tibetan texts, or the Northern canon as well as the Jaatak⁽¹⁾ give circumstantial details of the growing opposition within his own ranks, supported by that of the rival-sects which sprang up to challenge his mission. The Brahmans, who had been long in possession of the field and had rallied to his cause, found their faith shaken by the attacks levelled both against him personally and his system by the combined force of his opponents.

Amongst them was Vardhman, afterwards known as Mahavir, the founder of Jainism. Like Buddh he too was a Kshatriya by birth. But unlike Buddh, he did not profess to reveal a new doctrine of his own, but was content to found his teaching on that of the ancient ascetic—Parasnath, who is said to have lived two and a half centuries earlier; while Dev Dutt attempted to discredit his cousin by founding his teachings on the “former Buddhs”. Like Buddh, Mahavir was also the scion of a noble Licchavi family of Vaishali. He too had come out of the purple to become an ascetic. He first embraced the ascetic cult of Parasnath in which he remained for some years. But he was dissatisfied with the rules of that order and broke away from it and started a creed of his own in which, however, he professed still to be only interpreter of the older doctrine. The main points of his teaching were, however, so akin to Buddhism that Jainism was at one time regarded as being only an offshoot of Buddhism. But the two creeds were always distinct, though their principles were similar and in some respects identical. They will be examined later on. Like Buddh,

(1) II (*Camb.*) No. 206, 106;
Ib. No. 208; No. 194, 85, 87.

p. 110; VI—194 p. 68.

Mahavir was related to the ruling families of Magadh, Videh and Anga, and like Buddha he claimed the patronage and support of Bimbeshwar who, as well as his son—Ajat Shatru, appears to have equally subscribed to his doctrine. Then, again, like Buddha, Mahavir too lived to a great age. He is said to have been translated to heaven when over seventy in 527 B.C., that is, only four years before Buddha's death. He died at Pawa in the Patna district and his adherents are then stated to have exceeded 14,000 in number.

It is thus clear that at least in his earlier career, Buddha must have encountered considerable opposition from Mahavir, to which must be added the numerous pin-pricks he must have received from numerous other cults which had been launched by other teachers since forgotten. All of them appealed to the masses through the medium of miracles, the display of which Buddha rigidly forbade, and which must have lost to his religion much of its attractiveness. That this must have considerably handicapped his disciples and filled them with misgivings is clear from the following dialogue: "One of the disciples came to the Blessed One with a trembling heart and his mind full of doubt. And he asked the Blessed One: 'O Buddha, our Lord and Master, why do we give up the pleasures of the world, if you forbid us to work miracles to attain the supernatural? Is not Amitabha, the infinite light of revelation, the source of innumerable miracles?'

"And the Blessed One, seeing the anxiety of a truth-seeking mind, said: 'O Shravak, thou art a novice among the novices, and thou art swimming on the surface of Sansar.⁽¹⁾ How long will it take thee to grasp the truth? Thou hast not understood the words of the Tathagat. The law of Karm is irrefragable, and supplications have no effect, for they are empty words.'

"Said the disciple, 'Do you say there are no miraculous and wonderful things?'

"And the Blessed One replied:

(1) Sk. "Samsar," "world," "worldlines."

“Is it not a wonderful thing, mysterious and miraculous to the worldling, that a sinner can become a saint, that he who attains to true enlightenment will find the path of truth and abandon the evil ways of selfishness? ‘The Bhikkhu who renounces the transient pleasures of the world for the eternal bliss of holiness, performs the only miracle that can truly be called a miracle.’

“A holy man changes the curses of Karm into blessings. The desire to perform miracles arises either from covetousness or from vanity”.⁽¹⁾

Then there were the sacrifices and self-mortification of the Brahmins. Those self-tortures appealed far more to the masses than the abstruse philosophy of Buddhism. Dev Dutt took advantage of it and embodied bodily suffering as a part of his creed.⁽²⁾ “Sirs”, said he to his hearers: “The Shraman Gautam makes use of curds and milk; henceforth we will not make use of them, because by so doing one harms calves; the Shraman Gautam makes use of meat; but we will not use it, because if one does, living creatures are killed; the Shraman Gautam makes use of salt; but we will not use it, because it is produced from a mass of sweat; the Shraman Gautam wears gowns with cut fringes; but we will wear gowns with long fringes, because by his practice the skilful work of the weavers is destroyed; the Shraman Gautam lives in the wilds; but we will live in villages, because by his practice men cannot perform works of charity.”⁽³⁾ But in spite of these drawbacks Buddhism was making a giant headway and it soon took a national development. The Shakyas had always regarded the new movement with enthusiasm. In the fervour of their zeal, they decided upon a course of conscription to the new faith, and had it proclaimed that at least one man out of every family should enter the order of Bhikkhus. Buddha was at first reluctant to give his consent; but he was prevailed upon to yield, and his later life was embittered by the after-math of this ill-judged step.

⁽¹⁾ *Gospel of Buddha*, 150, 151.
⁽²⁾ *Udanvary*, (T.O.S.) 204.

⁽³⁾ *Tibetan Legends* (See *Bibliography*).

The rank of the Bhikkhus was reinforced by conscript monks who soon broke out in open revolt. And Dev Dutt taking advantage of them became their leader. And the schism gained further strength from the support of Ajatshatru, heir-apparent of Magadh.

But the old king remained true to his vow and he was consequently either assassinated or starved to death by his son with the help of Dev Dutt.⁽¹⁾ The question whether Bimbeshwar was assassinated or starved by Ajatshatru, who had become tired of his father's long reign, is not free from doubt; since, while it has been suggested that Ajatshatru's sympathy with the Buddhists gave their rivals—the Jains, an offence which they translated into the malicious legend of Ajatshatru's parricide, the Vinai gives a short account of an attempt made by Ajatshatru to kill his father with a sword,⁽²⁾ while in the Digha⁽³⁾ a detailed account of the parricide appears, leaving no doubt that after his sixty years' rule the old king had been done to death by his son who had long curbed his ambition to usurp the throne—an ambition to which he gave full vent by his notable conquests. He is stated to have afterwards confessed his crime⁽⁴⁾. Kushal Devi—Bimbeshwar's widow, soon afterwards died of grief⁽⁵⁾.

Buddh had to fly for safety, and it was only by a miracle that he escaped the catapult and the wild elephant let loose against him in a narrow street. In later years Ajatshatru was accused of parricide, but he countered the suspicion by showing his staunch adherence to Buddhism, which the legends ascribe to a miracle. Dev Dutt was discomfited but he did not despair. Baffled in his attempt to usurp the spiritual leadership from his cousin, he now resorted to the baser art of seducing his wife, with whose aid he hoped to obtain recognition as the leader of the Shakya people. But the wife contemptuously

(1) *Tibetan Legends*, 80.

(2) *Jataka*, II—203; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I page 184.

(3) *Sanjutta* I—84-86.

(4) *Digha* I S.B.E. 85; I *Jataka* (Camb.) No. 150; 319.

(5) *Jataka* (Camb.) 85-319 II—203;

Digha Nikaya I.S.B.E. 85 *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I—184. But according to another version, she became a devout Buddhist and it is to her that Buddha addressed his discourse on the beatitude of future life.

rejected his offer ; while the Shakyas would have none of him. He became a desperado till he was hurled into hell, which closed his career.⁽¹⁾

But according to the Tibetan Legends, the mass conversion of the Shakyas and their pride hastened their destruction. The Shakyas were in alliance with, if not the vassals of King Prasannjit of Koushal. Now Prasannjit happened to have only one son—named Rali by a woman of low caste. This boy, when eight years of age, had mounted his father's lion throne, whereupon the Shakyas made a jest calling him a bastard. He recalled the insult, when on his father's death, he ascended the throne ; and finding the Shakyas weak attacked them with overwhelming numbers ; but the latter met them with force and repulsed their attack. Virudhak's army was disheartened and the King asked his minister Ambharish to advise him what to do. The minister rallied the troops and assured them that the Shakyas being Buddhists would not take life and that they ran no risk in pursuing the attack.

Meanwhile, having repulsed the attack, the Shakyas shut themselves up within their gates and prepared themselves against a seige. But a council of war decided otherwise and issued a proclamation prohibiting any one from attacking Virudhak or his army. But one Shampak⁽²⁾, who was then out of the town and had not heard of the proclamation, hastily raised a levy and wrought great slaughter on the invaders. But when he attempted to enter Kapilvastu, the Shakyas forbade his entry on the ground that he had disobeyed their proclamation. He went to Buddha who gave him some of his hair, nail-parings and a tooth, and bearing them he left and founded the kingdom of Udayan in a country watered by the Swat, a tributary of the Kabul river. He built a stupa for the relics of the Blessed One and it was called Shampak's stupa. Others who had taken part in

(1) *Tibetan legends* (Tr. W. W. Rockhill) under title *Life of the Buddha* T.O.S. 83—107.

•(2) Hiuen Tsiang (*Rk.* VI—318) says

that there were four such men who afterwards became kings of Udayan, Bamyān, Himtal and Chambea respectively.

repulsing the invaders were similarly banished⁽¹⁾. But their spirited defence disconcerted Virudhak who turning to Ambharish asked: "Are these your righteous people who will not kill even a beetle? If they all kill as many of us as this one man, there will not be left a soul living among us!"

The minister suggested a stratagem to overcome the Shakyas. So the King sent an emissary to them saying, "Shakyas! although I do not love you; equally I do not hate you. It is all over, so open your gates quickly." The Shakyas were divided but decided to abide by the votes of the majority who, remembering the Master's Commandment—"Thou shalt not kill"—voted for the entry. The gates were thrown open and Virudhak entered the city with his army and contrary to his understanding, commenced a wholesale slaughter of the Shakyas who took to flight, some going to Nepal, others to Rajgrah. More, who could not escape, were slaughtered, Virudhak demanding that he would not be satisfied till he saw a stream of blood of the slain running down the road. His men accordingly butchered 77,000 Shakyas, mostly believers, but as their blood was insufficient to make a stream, Virudhak's ministers diluted it with red lac mixed with water. The king was satisfied, his men had captured 500 young men and an equal number of maidens whom he ordered to be trampled to death by elephants. As, however, they defended themselves, he had them thrown into a pit and covered it over with iron plates⁽²⁾.

Buddh himself was an eye-witness to all this cruel savagery. Having glutted his ire upon the defenceless Shakyas, Virudhak returned to Koushal with 500 Shakya maidens as his prisoners of war whom he tried to throw into his harem, but they mocked him and would not go. He became angry and ordered that their hands and feet should be chopped off and that they should then be set free to return to their homes. Buddh preached to them the Law after which they all died⁽³⁾.

(1) *Hiuen Tsiang Bk.*, III—141 *et seq.*
(2) *Rockhill*, 119, 120.

(3) *Fa Hian* 87; *Hiuen Tsiang Bk.*
VI—307; *Rockhill* 121.

Virudhak had invited Jeta his natural brother and minister of the State to accompany him in his campaign, but being a proselyte and patron of Buddhism, he had refused. Virudhak now returned triumphant called upon Jeta to explain his disloyalty. "Jeta" he said, "I have come from putting to death my enemies and you have remained here amusing yourself." "Sire," answered the Prince, "who are your enemies?" "The Shakyas" he replied. "If the Shakyas are your enemies" replied Jeta, "who are your friends?" At this the King got annoyed—"Have him sent to where the Shakyas are!" So Jeta was also put to death⁽¹⁾.

This legend depicts the decline and fall of Kapilvastu before Buddh's own eyes, of which he was a helpless observer. The downfall of his race and the sack of his capital by a horde of barbarians from the north points to a great misfortune which swept away all that Buddh must have esteemed dear in this life. That he was a tender-hearted man and attached to his family is apparent from the deep concern he showed for them after he had well-established his creed. That his closing days must have given him cause for melancholy reflexion goes without saying. But the episode shows that Buddh was prepared to suffer martyrdom for his faith. He had offered his family and his race as a holocaust; and he met his death with the same equanimity with which he had faced the despoliation of his home.

The legends do not state whether the destruction of the Shakyas preceded or followed Shuddhodhan's own death. But the context suggests that it must have been later. Shuddhodhan is said to have died when he had reached the ripe age of ninety-six. Finding his end approaching, he sent a message to Buddh, who hurried back to his father's death-bed. He led the coffin carrying in hand the incense-holder, and, as was the custom, with his own hand set fire to the pyre of sandal-wood in which the remains of the old king were consumed.

(1) *Dulva*, X—133, 161; *Hüen Tsiang Bk.* VI, 307; *Rockhill*, 120, 121.

But though the sequence of the events of his life after his return from Kapilvastu is lost, the legends record numerous incidents which illustrate his character. Once upon a time, two neighbouring kings, no less than of his own kinsmen, the Shakyas and the Koliyas were on the verge of war over a disputed embankment of the Rohini which, owing to an unusual drought, was unable to irrigate the fields on both sides of the river. And Buddh seeing the kings with their armies ready to fight, asked them why they were going to fight. Each claimed the embankment. "I understand that the embankment has value for some of your people, but apart from it, does it possess any intrinsic value?"

"It has no intrinsic value whatever" was the reply. Then asked Buddh "Now when you go to battle, is it not sure that many of your men will be slain, and you yourselves, O Kings, are liable to lose your lives?"

And they said: "Verily, it is sure that many will be slain and our own lives be jeopardised."

"Has the blood of men" asked Buddh, "less value than a mound of earth?" "No" said the kings, "The lives of men, and above all, the lives of kings, are priceless."

Then said Buddh: "Are you going to stake that which is priceless against that which has no intrinsic value whatever?"

The two kings realized their mistake and came to an amicable arrangement.⁽¹⁾

A merchant from Sunparant having joined the Order was anxious to convert his relations. He asked for permission to do so. "The people of Sunparant are reported to be exceedingly violent. If they revile you, what will you do?" "I will make no answer," replied the Bhikkhu. "And if they strike you?" "I will not strike in return." "And if they try to kill you?" "Death itself is no evil and many even

(1) *Dhammapad*, 10 S.B.E. Pt. I (Ed. Faushok) 351; *Juttak* V—412; Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, 317, 319.

try to escape from the vanities of life : I will take no steps to hasten or delay my departure." Then Buddh gave him permission to start on his mission.

One Krishnagotami (Kisagotami) was a young married girl who was delivered of a child. He lived long enough to run about and then died. She was disconsolate and carried its corpse from door to door asking her fellow-villagers to revive it by medicine. One of them advised her to try Buddh, which she did. After doing homage she asked him, "Lord and Master, do you know any medicine that will revive my child?" "Yes I know," he replied. "What is it?" she asked. "I want some mustard-seeds," he said. But before she had left to fetch it, he added. "But it must come from a house where there has been no death." "Very good," she said, "I will get you such mustard seed." She then returned to the village, and went from door to door asking the people for mustard-seed, every one offered it to her but when she added, "it must be from a house which has not suffered death." Every one cried that he had lost either the father, the wife, or a son. She returned to Buddh who asked her if she had brought the seed. "No," she replied, "I cannot get seed from a house where there has been no death." "Well then," added Buddh, "How can you be an exception?" He then preached to her his Law and she entered the "first path."

That Buddh did not always receive courtesy in his excursions is illustrated by the two following stories. When he was staying at Shravasti in the Jitvan, he went out with his alms-bowl, as usual to beg for food. He stopped at the house of a Brahman while the fire of an offering was blazing upon his altar. Afraid, lest the approach of the beggar should pollute him, he said, "Stay there, O shaveling; stay there; O wretched Shraman! thou art an outcast!"

The Blessed One replied : "Who is an outcast?"

"An outcast is a man who is angry and bears hatred; the man who is wicked and hypocritical, he who embraces error and is full of deceit.

“Whosoever is a provoker and is avaricious, has sinful desires, is envious, wicked, shameless, and without fear to commit sins, let him be known as an outcast.

“Not by birth does one become an outcast, not by birth does one become a Brahman, by deeds one becomes an outcast, by deeds one becomes a Brahman.”

The Brahman joined his faith. ⁽¹⁾ He had sometimes to deal with hooligans. Such was Shushilome whom he met at Gaya. Buddha was sitting on a stone when Shushilome went up to him and brushed his body against his. Bhagwat drew away his body ; thereupon Shushilome asked him “O Shraman, art thou afraid of me ?” To which Gautam replied : “No, friend, I am not afraid of thee, but thy touching me is sinful.” Shushilome said : “I will ask thee a question, O Shraman, and if thou canst not answer it, I will either scatter thy thoughts or cleave thy head, or take thee by the feet and throw thee over to the other shore of the Ganges.”

The Bhagwat answered : “I do not see, O friend, either in this world or in the world of the Devas, Maras, Brahmans, or amongst the generation of Samans and Brahmans, gods and man, one who can either scatter my thoughts or cleave my head or take me by the feet and throw me across the Ganges. However, ask, O friend, what thou pleasest.”

Shushilome then put to him questions which the Bhagwat replied, but whether he converted him is not recorded. ⁽²⁾

He was once accused of being a sturdy beggar when he ought to be working for his living. The occasion was that he went to beg of a Brahman named Bharaddwaj who had been celebrating his harvest-thanksgiving. Bharaddwaj told him to go and work. “O Shraman” he said, “it would suit you better to go to work than to go begging. I plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat. If you did likewise, you too would have to eat.”

And the Tathagat replied “O Brahman, I too plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat.”

(1) M. P.—4 ; 10 S.B.E. 73-79.

(2) K. P.—5 ; 10 S.B.E. 44, 45.

"Do you profess to be a farmer?", the Brahman queried; "where then are your bullocks? where is the seed and the plough?"

The Blessed One said: "Faith is the seed I sow; good works are the rain that fertilizes it; wisdom and modesty are the plough, my mind is the guiding rim; I lay hold of the handle of the law; earnestness is the goad I use; and exertion is my draught-ox. This ploughing is ploughed to destroy the weeds of illusion. The harvest it yields is the immortal life of Nirvan, and thus all sorrow ends."

Then the Brahman poured rice-milk into a golden bowl and offered it to the Blessed One saying: "Let the teacher of mankind partake of the rice-milk, for the venerable Gautam ploughs a ploughing that bears the fruit of immortality." (1)

In this way Buddha passed the closing years of his life. He was now eighty and a detailed account of his closing months is available (2), though it is only a record of tradition. In the course of his peregrination he left Rajgrah and arrived at Pataligama (modern Patna) where he was met by lay devotees to whom he delivered a religious sermon. They invited him to a meal for which they made preparations in the rest-house by strewing the whole floor with sand, placing seats and a water-pot thereon and fixing an oil-lamp. The Blessed One arrived, he washed his feet, entered the rest-house, and took his seat against the central pillar, with his face towards the east. The lay devotees and the Bhikkhus did likewise.

After taking their meal, the Blessed One delivered a sermon upon Rectitude, which lasted till late at night, after which he went into solitude in order to give himself up to meditation. He rose at dawn and saw that Sunidha and Vassakar, two ministers of Magadh, were fortifying the town to repel an invasion by the Vajjis. He then fore-told its future greatness:

(1) *Sutta Nipat*, 4; 10 S.B.E., 11—15.

(2) *Mahaparinirvan Sutta*, 1—19: 11—3; 11—16-24. (R. Davids *Intro. to his Tr.* pp. XXXIV). This is with a few unimportant variations, word for

word the same as *Mahavagga* Ch. 28—30; 17 S.B.E. 97—108. (But this contains no account of Buddha's death. See *Ib.*, p. 97 f.n. (1).

"As far, Anand, as Aryan people dwell, as far as merchants travel, this will become the chief town, the city of Pataliputra. But dangers of destruction, Anand, will hang over Pataliputra in three ways, by fire, or by water, or by internal discord"⁽¹⁾. This prophecy came true for when King Ajatshatru, son of Bimbeshwar, became the King of Magadh, his fortress of Patali on the Sone developed into the imperial city of Pataliputra, and it is now Patna, the capital of Bihar. He now crossed the Ganges and proceeded North to the town of Vaishali, which he had frequently visited and which was the capital of the powerful clan of Licchavis, then a noble city ten of twelve miles in circuit. Near Vaishali, in the village of Beluva he dismissed his disciples, as the rains were on and he was preparing himself for the Vassa which proved to be the last of his life.

At that village, not far from Vaishali, he was attacked by severe illness : violent pains seized him and he was near dying. He then bethought himself of his disciples : "It becomes me not to enter the Nirvan without having addressed those who cared for me. I shall conquer this illness by my power, and hold life fast within me." By the sheer exercise of his will, he cured himself of the illness, and sat down on a seat prepared for him in the shade. Seeing him, the venerable Anand spake : 'Sire ! I see that the Exalted One is well ; I see Sire ! that the Exalted One is better. All nerve had left me, Sire ; I was faint ; my senses failed me because of the sickness of the Exalted One. But still I had one consolation, Sire : the Exalted One will not enter Nirvan, until he has declared his purpose concerning the body of his followers.' "What need hath the body of my followers of me now, Anand : I have declared the doctrine, Anand, and I have made no distinction between within and without ; the Perfect One has not, Anand, been a forgetful teacher of the Doctrine. He, Anand, who says : 'I will rule over the Church, or let the Church be subject to me,' he, O Anand, might declare his will in the Church. The Perfect One, however, O Anand, does not say : 'I will rule over the Church, or let the Church be subject to

(1) *Mahavagga*, VI—28-8 ; 17 S. B. E. 102.

me.' What shall the Perfect One declare, Anand, to be his purpose, regarding the Church? I am an old man; eighty years old am I.....Be ye to yourselves, Anand, your own light, your own refuge, seek no other refuge.....Whosoever now, Anand, or after my departure, shall be his own light, his own refuge, and shall seek no other refuge, whosoever taketh the truth as his light and his refuge and shall seek no other refuge, such will henceforth, Anand, be my true disciple, who walks in the right path"(¹).

Buddh now proceeded to Vaishali and as usual passed through the town begging his meal. Returning to his lodging he convened a Sangh and addressed them as follows:—
 "Learn ye then fully, O my disciples, that knowledge which I have attained and have declared unto you, and walk ye in it, practise and increase, in order that this path of holiness may last and long endure, for the blessing of many people, for the joy of many people, to the relief of the world, to the welfare, the blessing, the joy of gods and men. And what, O disciples, is the knowledge which I have attained and have declared unto you, which you are to learn fully, walk in it, practise and increase, in order that this path of holiness may last and long endure, for the blessing of many people, for the joy of many people, to the relief of the world, to the welfare, the blessing, the joy of gods and men? It is the four-fold vigilance, the four-fold right effort, the four-fold holy strength, the five organs, the five powers, the seven members of knowledge, the sacred eight-fold path. This, O disciples, is the knowledge which I have attained, and have declared unto you."

He then added: "Hearken, ye monks, I say unto you, all earthly things are transitory; strive on without ceasing. In a short time the Perfect One will attain Nirvan: three months hence will the Perfect One enter Nirvan." Concluding his discourse, he said: "My existence is ripening to its close; the end of my life is near. I go hence, ye remain behind; the place of refuge is ready for me. Be watchful, without intermission, walk ever more in holiness: Aye resolute, and

(1) Oldenberg, *Buddhism*, 197, 198: Later quotations are also from the same works.

aye prepared, keep ye, O disciples, your mind. He who ever more walks without stumbling, true to the word of truth, struggles into freedom from birth and death, presses through to the end of all suffering."

The next day he again begged in the town, and accepted the hospitality of one Chanda, a black-smith who treated the Sangh to a feast the nature of which will be presently discussed. He then left it with a large concourse of disciples for Kushinagar ⁽¹⁾, a town about eighty miles east of Kapilvastu, where he was born. He was sick and way-worn and as he felt his end drawing nigh, he spake to Anand: "It may be, Anand, that in some of you the thought may arise—'the words of our Teacher are ended; we have lost our Master.' But it is not thus. The truths and the rules of the Order, which I have taught and preached, let these be your teacher, when I am gone."⁽²⁾

Then he addressed the assembled monks: "Which, then, O monks, are the truths it behoves you to spread abroad, out of pity for the world, for the good of gods and men ?

"They are: (1) the four earnest reflections ⁽³⁾; (2) the four right exertions ⁽⁴⁾; (3) the four paths to supernatural power ⁽⁵⁾; (4) the five forces ⁽⁶⁾; (5) the proper use of the five organs of senses; (6) the seven limbs of knowledge ⁽⁷⁾; (7) the noble eight-fold path ⁽⁸⁾".

He then felt tired and turning to Anand, he said: "Go Anand and prepare a bed for me between two twin trees with my head to the North. I am tired, Anand; I shall lie down". Anand prepared a bed between two Sal trees—the trees in the shadow of which he was born. He lay, it is said, on his right

(1) Now Kasia 35 miles east of Gorakhpur on an old channel of the Hiranyavati or the Chota Gandhak—Cunningham's *"Ancient Geography of India"* 430.

(2) *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutta*, III—65.

(3) "Impurities of the body, the impermanence of the sensations, of the thought, of the condition of Existence."

(4) "To prevent demerit from arising, get rid of it as soon as it arises; produce merit, and increase it."

(5) i.e., "Will, effort, thought, con-

centration."

(6) i.e., "Faith, energy, recollection, self concentration, reason."

(7) i.e., "Recollection, investigation, energy, joy, serenity, concentration and equanimity".

(8) "Right belief; Right resolve; Right speech; Right work; Right livelihood; Right exercise; Right mindfulness; Right mental concentration."—*For explanation see post.*

side. As he lay on the cot, the Sal trees burst into bloom, a shower of flowers fell from the sky and heavenly melodies were sounded in honour of the dying saint.

“Then spake the Exalted One to the Venerable Anand : ‘ Although this is not the time for flowers, Anand, yet are these two twin trees completely decked with blossoms, and flowers are falling, showering, streaming down on the body of the Perfect One.....heavenly melodies are sounding in the air in honour of the Perfect One. But to the Perfect One belongeth another honour, another glory, another reward, another homage, another reverence. Whosoever, Anand, male disciple or female disciple, lay brother or lay sister, lives in the truth, in matters both great and small, and lives according to the ordinance and also walks in the truth in details, these bring to the Perfect One the highest honour, glory, praise, and credit. Therefore, Anand, must ye practise thinking : let us live in the truth in matters, great and small, and let us live according to the ordinance and walk in the truth also in details.”

But Anand was in a different mood. He said to himself : “ I am not yet free from impurities, I have not yet reached the goal, and my Master, who takes pity on me, will soon enter into Nirvan.”

He went into the house and cried. But the Master sent for him : “ Go, O disciple, and say to Anand in my name, the Master wishes to speak with thee, friend Anand.” Anand obeyed. He went to the Master, bowed to him and sat down, still weeping. But the Master tried to console him—“ Not, so, Anand, weep not, sorrow not. Have I not ere this said to thee, Anand, that from all that man loves and from all that man enjoys, from that must man part, must give it up, and tear himself from it. How can it be Anand, that that which is born, grows, is made, which is subject to decay, should not pass away ? That cannot be. But thou, Anand, hast long honoured the Perfect One, in love and kindness, with cheerfulness, loyally and unwearingly, in thought, word and deed. Thou hast done well, Anand, only strive on, soon thou wilt be free from impurities.”

As the news of the Saint's illness spread through the town, it all turned out—men with their wives and children to pay their last homage to the dying Master. And Subhadda, a monk of another sect, begged to receive the Master's touch of conversion, so that he could say that he had seen the Master in the flesh.

It was now night and the Master's strength was ebbing. He turned to Anand again and spake—"It may be Anand, that ye shall say: 'the world had lost its master, we have no master more.' Ye must not think thus, Anand. The Law, Anand, and the ordinance, which I have taught and preached unto ye, these are your Master when I am gone hence."

And turning to his disciples—"Hearken: that cometh, I charge ye, Everything that cometh into being, passeth away: Strive without ceasing."⁽¹⁾

But the Chinese version of the "Dying Instructions of Buddh" translated between 397 and 415 A.D. from an earlier Sanskrit text, is even more touching: "It was now in the middle of the night, perfectly quiet and still; for the sake of his disciples he delivered a summary of the Law. After laying down the rules of a good life, he proceeds to reveal the inner doctrines of his faith: 'The heart is lord of the senses: govern, therefore, your heart, watch well the heart.....Think of the fire that shall consume the world, and early seek deliverance from it. Lament not my going away, nor feel regret. For if I remained in the world, then what would become of the Church? It must perish without fulfilling its end. From henceforth all my disciples, practising their various duties, shall prove that my true Body, the Body of the Law⁽²⁾, is everlasting and imperishable. The world is fast bound in fetters: I now give it deliverance as a physician who gives heavenly medicine; keep your mind on my teaching; all other things change, this changeth not. No more shall I speak to

(1) *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutta*, III—60.

(2) Sk. "*Dharm Kaya*" *Dharm*—Faith,

religion, Duty; *Kaya*—body.

you. I desire to depart. I desire the eternal rest ⁽¹⁾. This is my last sermon' ⁽²⁾.

And these were his last words. He became unconscious and then passed away."

A legend records that when the soul of Buddha left its body, the earth shook and there was lightning and the gods Brahma and Indra appeared, and the latter exclaimed :

All things are unabiding
Birth, Death;—their Law is this:
They come to birth ; they perish.
End all, and that is bliss. ⁽³⁾

Three questions have been raised in this connection——
"Was Buddha a reality or a myth? what is the date of his death? and what did he die of?"

On the question of Buddha's reality there exists no doubt, though some little doubt was at one time thrown on his existence ⁽⁴⁾, on the authority of M. Senart who, however, only questioned his biography, though that fact has been used to support the conclusion that Buddha himself was the mere personification of an idea. And this is what M. Senart's ratiocination leads up to, though he himself acknowledges the existence of some person as Buddha—"as we see the reality of the church founded by him." But this admission itself becomes greatly weakened by the ratiocination that Buddhism is merely a religious development of the Sankhya system of Hindu philosophy and that the name of its alleged founder itself inwraps an allegory. But M. Senart's view was that from the one known fact that Buddha did exist, and nothing else being known, the fancy of his disciples have attached to his person the great allegorical ballad of the life of the Sun-god in human guise, when the life of the man Buddha had been forgotten. That the legendary life of the

(1) "Nirvan".

(2) *Fo-we-Kian-King*.—Translated in *App. to the catalogue of Mss.* presented by the Japanese Government to the Secretary of State for India, and now in the India office. Concluding letter of Mr. Rea to Dr. Rost dated 1st September, 1874-85—*Hunter's Indian Empire*,

185, 186.

(3) *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, VI—16.

(4) H. H. Wilson cited in *Hunter's Indian Empire* 199 f.n. assumed by Schelltema in his *Monumental Java* Ch. VII, 177-206, *contra* Oldenberg's *Buddhism* 72-73, 200. Weber (1878) *History, Ind.* Lt. 284—290.

founder of Buddhism is the embroidered fancy of a later race of his followers admits of no question. But the question is whether it is based upon the sub-stratum of facts, handed down as unquestioned events, in the life of the founder who had enlisted a large following in his life-time and had left him surviving a race of devout disciples deeply attached to him; and even if we suppose there be any doubt on this point, it still remains a question whether M. Senart's theory is not itself as fanciful as the biography he condemns.

Senart's theory rests on the dual meaning of certain words and the close affinity between Buddha's doctrine and Kapil's Sankhya philosophy. It is said that Buddhism owes its existence to the incentive of no single person, that it is merely a religious development of one system of Brahmanical philosophy; that the life is a mere personified allegory as is apparent from the names of its leading persons and places (¹). For instance, Gautam is an ancient Vedic sage, his other name being Bharadwaj; while another Gautam was the well-known propounder of the Nyay system of philosophy. His birth place at Kapilvastu only conveys its covert sense that it was "the abode of Kapil." His mother is called "Maya" in reference to the Maya Doctrine of Kapil and that his own name "Siddharth" ("He who has fulfilled the end") and Buddha ("the Enlightened") are significant and prove that the whole story of the birth, renunciation and the enlightenment, are reminiscent of the solar myth and of no historical personage. He recalls the fact that from the earliest age the allegorical poetry of the Indians, like that of the Greeks and the Germans, treats of the destinies of the Sun-god, of his birth from the morning-cloud, which as soon as it has given him being, must itself vanish before the rays of the illuminating child; of his battle with, and victory over, the dark demon of the thunder-cloud; of his triumphal march across the firmament; of his decline and disappearance into the darkness and nothingness.

Senart then adverts to what he calls the allegory of the

(1) Dr. E. J. Thomas referring to this subject in *Mind* (Oct. 1927) 495 doubts whether M. Senart still maintains the hypothesis he published over fifty years ago.

life of Buddh: Like the Sun-god, Buddh issues from the clouds of night. He emerges from the dark womb "of a vision" and thus himself becomes visible; a flash of light pierces through the world when he is born; Maya dies as the morning cloud disappears before the rays of the Sun. As the Sun-hero is eclipsed by the thunderstorm but eventually vanquishes it, so does the demon Mar tempt Buddh by whom he is similarly vanquished; and, as in the contest in heaven, the thunder-storm first eclipses the Sun, so the tree which typifies the firmament with Mar as the thunder-demon, for a time shadows Buddh; but as the sun gains illumination, after the thunder-storm is vanquished, so Buddh obtains "enlightenment," after he had discomfited Mar, and as the Sun-god drives through the sky in his chariot, so Buddh proceeds to evangelize the world by setting in motion his "Wheel of Law."

And as towards sunset the clouds are tinted scarlet and obscure its light, against which it is powerless, so towards the evening of his life, Buddh is made to witness the annihilation of his whole house and his race, which he is powerless to prevent. And finally, as the Sun by his own rays, is quenched by the evening mist, so the flames of the funeral pile, on which Buddh's corpse is burnt, are extinguished by the streams of water which came pouring down from heaven. And as at last the Sun-god disappears in darkness and in nothingness, so does the mythical hero in Nirvan.

The theory is ingenious but far-fetched, and similar theories might be coined to explain away the notable events of many lives. Even more cogent reasons have recently been given to deny the reality of Jesus. Dr. Oldenberg, ⁽¹⁾ Dr. Rhys Davids and other Pali scholars have combated M. Senart's scholarly, but unconvincing criticisms, by reference to the voluminous texts in which incidental references—all the more valuable because they are incidental,—recur to Buddh as a real personage. But the points which appear to be conclusive are the very ones which M. Senart has left unexplained. Buddh is mentioned as a contemporary ascetic teacher of Nirvan by Nataputta (Mahabir).

(1) Oldenberg—*Buddhism* 72-04.

His reality is admitted even by the Brahmans who represent him as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu who had descended upon earth to mislead man. The site of Lambini garden where "portion of the ashes of Buddha was said to have been deposited," has since been identified, and the stupa which enclosed them found. M. Senart's whole theory that Kapilvastu is a fictitious name on the bank of Rohini has been falsified by recent archaeological discoveries. That the life of Buddha is the life of a type, and not of a person—is greatly weakened by the fact that ascetics who follow a routine cannot be all fictitious entities. M. Senart bases his criticism on the legendary life depicted in the *Lalit Vistar*, which no one has yet supported as a historical document, not that it had no historical back-ground. The fictitious embellishment, which with the biographers of religious sages it is usual to add to the prosaic facts of their lives, does not make the lives themselves fictitious. Historical tradition of a real Buddha, the numerous circumstantial details of his life which are, not singly but cumulatively, evidence of their *verity*, are recorded in the scriptures of all schools. The theory that Buddha was the fictitious figurehead for the dissemination of Kapil's doctrines is disproved by no less an authority than Max Muller, who says: "We have looked in vain for any definite similarities between the system of Kapil, as known to us in the Sankhya Sutras and the Abhi Dharma or the metaphysics of Buddhists."⁽¹⁾ Kapil's doctrines have been set out at length in the preceding pages and a comparison with his system of that of the Buddhists justifies Professor Max Muller's failure to find anything common between the two systems. What is then left in the biography to which the term fictitious can be safely applied? There is Mar, the God of Death, and Buddha's encounter with him under the *pipal* tree. That it typifies the mental struggle of a man who has been struggling to find a key to the problem of life is all that this episode can be held to prove. That such struggle is not unnatural, is not and cannot be denied. Lastly, that the earliest Buddhist books mention no less than 45 places which Buddha visited and in which he lived and preached his

(1) 1 *Chips from a German workshop* 226.

creed can have no mystic, allegorical significance. Persistent tradition from the earliest times, corroborated so far as it can be, by the existence of ancient memorials, is a sufficient and a safe voucher for the truth of the narrative of a life, the incidents of which there was no reason to invent in a mere allegory.

The question discussed by M. Senart was one of the questions which King Milinda had twice put to Nagsen⁽¹⁾ and to which Nagsen had given convincing replies. His argument was that as a complicated building required an architect, so a complicated system could not be without an author and that as his system is unique, so must be its designer. Milinda felt convinced and was converted to the new faith.

The fact that the biography of Buddha is vitiated by fable should not make us more fastidious or less indulgent towards the marvellous in Buddhism than we are towards the early periods of any other history. The main fact may be true, though the details are invented. And such evidence as is now available points to this conclusion. The fact that from the very dawn of Buddhism down to the present day, believers and non-believers have acted on the assumption of the reality of Buddha and the main incidents of his life which are inseparable from his personality, makes one pause before yielding to the suggestion that Buddha was merely a figure of speech. Long before his teachings were reduced to writing, the facts of his life and his teachings were carefully committed to the memory of men who were professional memorists of the sacred literature. They chanted them on all solemn occasions immediately on the decease of the Great Teacher. They thus imparted their knowledge from generation to generation. In so doing, there was just as much chance of interpolation as in any ancient writing, but there was scarcely any fear of a wholesale invention. The fact that from the very start the person of Buddha was mentioned as distinct from his precepts, and in the initiatory ceremony of a novice, upon his consecration he had to repeat three times

(1) *Questions of King Milinda*, III—5-1; 35 S. B. E. 109; *ib.* V—1; 36 S. B. E. 206.

the formula—"I go for refuge to the Buddha: I go for refuge to the Law: I go for refuge to the Order" shows that every monk had to swear allegiance to the person of the Teacher before he could swear obedience to his precepts⁽¹⁾. The life of Buddha is far too circumstantial for a myth, far too chequered for a mere allegory.

The second question, when Buddha was born, is not free from difficulty. That he lived to the age of 80 or 81 is beyond dispute. But the question is, when was he born? or, what comes to the same thing, when did he die? According to the Chinese computation based upon portents, Buddha was born in 1,027 B. C. when, according to a work called *Chek-Shu-Yi-Ki*, a bright light of five colours was seen to pierce the constellation *Tai-Wei* and pass over the whole West. On seeing it, the historian Su Yen remarked that a great sage was born in the West. Eighty years later, a white rainbow was seen, having twelve stripes stretching from South to North. The historian Hu To seeing it, said: "It is the sign of the death of a great sage in the West." This date was and has been since, officially recognized as authentic⁽²⁾. But the traditional date, accepted by the earlier scholars, was 623-543 B.C. and is supported by the Ceylon tradition and chronicle. But four other dates have been suggested, ranging between 480 and 388. The former is the year to which Dr. Oldenberg is inclined. He says: "The year of his death is one of the most firmly fixed dates in ancient Indian history; calculations, by which the sum of possible error is confined within tolerably narrow limits, give as a result, that he died not long before or not long after 480 B.C."⁽³⁾. Sir A. Cunningham fixes it at 478; Rhys Davids at about 412, while Kern brings it down to 388. Other conjectures have been made, while on the other hand, the exact date of his death is calculated to be 1st June. The data upon which these calculations proceed appear to be all inconclusive at this distance of time; but the first date is as probable as any other; as Mr. Vincent Smith remarks, "I

(1) In its earlier stages the formula was "Come, O Bhikkhu, well and ought is the doctrine; lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering."

—*Mahavagga* 1-6-34; 13 S. B. E. 90.

(2) Rev. J. Edkins; *Chinese Buddhism* (T. O. S.) 15, 16.

(3) Oldenberg; *Buddhism*, 196.

formerly accepted 487 or 486 B.C. as the best attested date, but the new reading of the Kharabela record pushes back all the earlier dates"(¹). Prof. Max Muller gives reasons for his view that this period must be corrected to 537-477 B.C.(²). On the whole, there is no well-attested data to justify the correction of the traditional date, supported by the very early high authority of the purest Buddhist chronicles available.

Hiuen Tsiang's memoirs are valuable for their antiquity and the details with which he fills up his pages of indiscriminate description. He was a pious pilgrim and records without criticism all that he saw and heard and could observe with his deeply devout vision.

Hiuen Tsiang records that according to the general tradition the Tathagat died at midnight of the 15th day of the second half of Baisakh(³). Kashyap was then away, but Anurudh and Anand were present and spent the night in religious discourse. At dawn Anand went to the Mallas of Kushinagar and informed them of the Master's death. The Mallas were deeply grieved and collected their men, women and children, and taking with them five hundred suits of apparels, perfumes, garlands and musical instruments, proceeded to the Sal forest where the remains of the Tathagat lay. They spent there six days in paying their homage to the deceased and by singing hymns, dancing with music and with garlands and perfumes. They made canopies of their garments, and prepared decorative wreaths to hang thereon. On the second day, eight chieftains of the Mallas bathed their heads and clad themselves in new garments, preparatory to carrying the body for cremation. The Mallas decided to take it to the cremation-ground by the South gate; but when the pall-bearers tried to move the bier, it could not be moved. The Mallas were surprised, but Anurudh told them that the bier should be taken by the North gate through the town, to which the Mallas readily agreed. The bier was then carried in procession through the town. Meanwhile,

(1) V. Smith *History of India*, 52.

(2) *Intro.—Dhammapad* 10 S. B. E. XLIII-XLVI. In the minor Rock Edict I it is stated that "this precept was proclaimed by the departed." 256 years have since elapsed which would bring

Buddh's death (if the edict refers to him) to 508 add 80. The year of his birth would then be 588 B.C. Asoka "*Rulers of India*," pp. 139, 140.

(3) *Beal II Western Records*, 33.

Kashyap had hurried up from Pava to Kushinagar with 500 disciples to take part in the funeral. Amongst them was one Subhadda, a convert in his old age. Seeing the company lamenting and weeping, he said :—" Enough brethren ! weep not, neither lament ! we are well rid of the great Saman. We used to be annoyed by being told—' This beseems you, this beseems you not.' But we shall be able to do whatever we like ; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do. " But Kashyap consoled them in another way. He reminded them of the inexorable law of decay and dissolution. The four Malla chieftains then bathed their heads and donning new garments tried to set fire to the funeral pile, but it would not catch fire. Kashyap then walked reverently round the pile with his hands clasped and his head reverently bowing down ; and the 500 disciples did the same. The pile then took fire of itself ; and the Mallas removed the bones of the Blessed One to their own Council-hall where eight kings sent messengers to claim the relics, but eventually they were apportioned by agreement ⁽¹⁾. In his memoirs Hiuen Tsiang gives further details of the funeral scene. He says that on the Tathagat's death, men and Devas prepared a coffin made of the seven precious substances and in a thousand napkins swathed his body ; then spread both flowers and scents. They placed both canopies and coverings over it ; then the host of Mallas raised the bier and forward marched, with others following and leading on. Passing the golden river to the north, they filled the coffin up with scented oil, and piled high up the odorous wood and kindled it. Then after all was burnt, there were two napkins left—one that lay next the body, the other from the outside covering. Then they divided the *Shariras* (bodies) for the world's sake, the hair and nails alone remained untouched by fire. By the side of the place of cremation, there is a stupa : here Tathagat, for Kashyap's sake revealed his feet. When Tathagat was in his golden coffin, and oil poured on it and the wood piled up, the fire would not kindle. When all the beholders were filled with fear and doubt, Anurudh spoke : " We must await Kashyap. " At this time Kashyap with 500 followers from out the forest came to Kushinagar and asked

(1) *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* II S.B.E., 121—136

Anand, saying : “ Can I behold the Tathagat’s body ? ” Anand said, “ Swathed in a thousand napkins, enclosed within a heavy coffin, with scented wood piled up, we are about to burn it.” At this time Buddh caused his feet to come from out the coffin. Above (or on) the wheel-sign, lo ! there were different coloured marks. Addressing Anand then he said, “ And what are these ? ” Answering he said, “ When first he died, the tears of man and gods moved by pity, falling upon his feet, left these marks.”

Kashyap walked round the corpse and worshipped it, after which the scented wood caught fire of its own accord and burnt the whole with a great conflagration. After his body had been consumed, the Mallas put out the fire with milk and enclosing the remains in a golden vase, they carried it to Kushinagar. But seven tribes appeared and claimed the relics, each one on the ground that the Blessed One belonged to them. Their claim was about to be asserted by use of force, when a Brahman,—Drone—intervened and settled the dispute by apportioning the relics amongst the eight claimants ⁽¹⁾ namely :—(1) The Kshatriyas of Kapilvastu, (2) of Vaisali, (3) of Buluka, (4) and of Roruka; (5) The Brahmans of Vethadvip, (6) The Kolias of Ramagram, (7) The Mallas of Kushinagar and (8) of Pava. The Tathagat is said to have returned to his disciples after three months of his death. As they were greatly worried at the Master’s disappearance, Mandalyayan went up to the Tushit heaven and informed Buddh, who descended by a crystal staircase, accompanied by the Devas of Kamloke ⁽²⁾ and reassured his disciples of his continued interest in them. He also imparted to them further instructions. On his first re-appearance he put out his arms from the coffin and asked Anand—“ Have you prepared the way ? ” ; on his second appearance he set up and preached the law for his mother’s sake ; and on his third appearance he showed his feet to the Great Kashyap ⁽³⁾.

That Buddh died a Chakravarti—a universal monarch, is symbolized in his stupas, the construction of which is

⁽¹⁾ R. D. 135 ; *Dulva*, 140, 147 ; *Bipanelet*, 11—95.

⁽²⁾ *Dulva*, XI—308—315. Schiefner’s

Tibetan Tales 227 et seq. Rockhill ; *Life of Buddh*, 81.

⁽³⁾ *11 Western Records*, 39, 40.



(6) Sculpture Depicting Buddha's reception by the Sakyas.

emblematical. The circular mound is designed to rest on a square plinth surrounded by a circular railing. The dome itself signifies the vault of heaven, and the world of space is signified by the Kshetra above Kshetra that rises from the Tee, ending in the symbol of the boundless empyrean, the three forked flame, trishul or the trident.

According to Tibetan Legends Buddh had nominated Kashyap as the head of the Order⁽¹⁾, but this was probably added to justify the pontifical authority of the Tibetan hierarchy, of which a later analogy is to be found in the statement of Jesus nominating Peter to be his proxy, upon which the Popes rest their authority⁽²⁾.

Of his disciples, Sariputra had predeceased Buddh by a year, having died at Naland. According to Hiuen Tsiang⁽³⁾ Kashyap outlived his Master 20 years; and after him Anand entered Nirvan on the bank of the Ganges, bequeathing half of his remains to Ajatshatru and the other half to the Licchavis of Vaishali who divided his body and interred it in Stupas at Pataliputra and Vaishali.

The third question is—what was the immediate cause of Buddh's death? It is stated on the authority of Rhys Davids' mis-translation of the *Pari Nirvan* that "he who had preached Ahimsa (non-killing) died of a surfeit of pork." Now what are the facts? In the first place, are we sure that what the Perfect One ate as his last meal was "dried pork" at all? The word used in the *Maha Parinirvan* is either *Shukkar* or "*Shukra Maddav*;"⁽⁴⁾—the latter has no reference to either a pig or boar or its drying—the only food it suggests is some compressed sweet dish made of, or containing honey. Professor Rhys Davids who translated it as "dried boar's flesh" in his translation of that Sutra⁽⁵⁾ has since confessed his mistake,

(1) *Tibetan Legends*, 155.

(2) *Math.* XVI—18.

(3) See Bibliography for references to works of the two countries.

(4) See 3 *Wheeler's History of India* 141, 142.

(5) *Shukar*—means a pig; but "*Shukra*" has various meanings. It means pure, bright. Hence the planet Venus or "Fire". It also means the essence of

anything e.g., male and female energy; the marrow of houses. Its other meanings are: name of a plant *chitrak*, peacock, while in the Vedas it is used to denote water. *Maddava* is the Pali of Sk. *Madhu*. *Madhu*—honey; *Madhav*—sweets made of honey, a sweet dish. According to the *Pali Dictionary* (by Rys. Davids) it means mild, gentle, soft, suave. (See its pp. 142, 143.)

for in his note to his translation of "The questions of King Milinda," assuming the word to be *Shukar Madḍava*, he says: "There is great doubt as to the exact meaning of this name of the last dish the Buddha partook of. *Madḍati* is 'to rule, or 'to press', or 'to trample' and just as 'pressed beef' is ambiguous, so is 'boar-pressed' or 'pork-tender' capable of various interpretations.....It means, I think, 'meat pervaded by the tenderness and niceness of boar's (flesh).' But that is itself ambiguous and *Dhammapaḍa* adds that "Others say the word means, not pork or meat at all, but the 'tender top sprout of the bamboo plant after it has been trampled upon by swine,' Others say again, that it means a kind of mushroom that grows in ground trodden under foot by swine. Others again, that it means only a particular kind of flavouring or sauce. As *madḍana* is rendered by Childers 'withered,' I have translated it in my 'Buddhist Sutras' (pp. 71—73) 'dried boar's flesh.' But the fact is that the exact sense is not known." (1) It is submitted that "*Madḍav*" is the Pali corruption of "*Madḥav*" which means "comprising *Madḥu*." "*Madḥu*," of course, means "honey," while "*Shukar*" is probably also the popular corruption of *Shukra* and may mean anything white, pure, or compressed, but it does not mean a pig, but even if the word were "*Shukur*" it might still be—as Prof. Rhys Davids admits that it may just as well mean—"withered flowers" or "tender flowers." And in his translation of *Diḡh Nikai*; translated as "Dialogues of the Buddha" (2) the same author translates it as "truffles" and in a foot note adds more decisively that the dish was made from "bulbous roots, a sort of truffles found in the jungles and called *Sukara Kand*." He adds: "It is perhaps of importance that the food prepared by Chanda and eaten by Buddha is called Bhatta: this is not used elsewhere of meat. The fact is, it is the only place where that word occurs, and *Shukar Madḥav* even at its worst cannot mean 'sweets made of pork' but those 'beloved of pork', a term applied to edible mushrooms devoured by pigs, as truffles are by the boars in Europe."

(1) 35 S.B.E. 244 f.n. (1).

(2) 3 S. B. E. 137.

Those who assume that Buddha died of a surfeit of pork have, therefore, no sure ground for their assertion. On the other hand, the probabilities are that the dish offered to Buddha was some special dish made out of sweet and honey and fruit. It was the one question of King Milinda to Nagasen in which he refers to the dish as "of great fruit" and asks: "The people are in bewilderment about this, thinking that the dysentery must have been caused by his eating too much out of greediness." To this Nagasen replied that the sickness was due to his enfeebled constitution more than to the food taken⁽¹⁾; or as we should now say, because the food carried to his bowels the amæba germs of dysentery.

Even if the fact were otherwise, the position is not different.

The Blessed One had already decided that his disciples were free to eat meat; but it must not have been killed for their food. He had prohibited the taking of life; but had never made an ordinance that his disciples shall never take meat at all. On the other hand, they had taken it on previous occasions. But on the day when Buddha partook of the dried venison, he had warned his disciples against taking it. He knew it was poisonous, but nevertheless he took it, because his disciple had laid it before him. He warned Chanda that it was poisonous and had it buried. Surely, in the face of these facts, no one can accuse Buddha of gluttony. It is true that he did at times indulge in excess of food; this is admitted by himself. For, addressing Udayan, he said: "Be not remiss as to the rules (to be observed). Be restrained in (matters relating to) the stomach.... Now there were several days, Udayan, on which I ate out of this bowl when it was full to the brim, and ate even more."⁽²⁾ In fact there appear to be occasions when he suffered on that account, and it is on record that he was once treated for it by the celebrated physician Jiwak Kumarbhaksh.⁽³⁾ But in the present case, if the text be read as a whole, Buddha knew before he touched his food, that it was infected and otherwise unfit for human consumption. His forbade its service to the

(1) *Milinda*, IV—3.21-23; 35 S. B. E. No. 77) quoted in *Milinda* IV—5.4; 36 S.B.E. 4.

(2) *Maha Udayi Sutta* (*Madhyam Nikai*) (3) *Mahavagga* VIII—I.30; 17 S.B.E. 191.

disciples. He, however, took it because he could not refuse what his host had out of a loving heart prepared for his meal. It is true that boar-hunt is a favourite sport of the Kshatriyas and Ram delighted in it. But Buddha, though a Kshatriya, had given up this pastime. He was for taking no life. There is no inconsistency between his precept and his practice. He had a prescience of his coming end, and he was prepared for it. Chanda's feast did certainly hasten his end. He thought he had yet three more months to live. He expected that death would overtake him after the rains. It did surprise him to that extent,—if the narrative which gives no dates be held to recount the facts in quick succession.

The record of no man's life can be complete without some reference to his character. And the character of the Saviour is the indelible adjunct of his work.

It is the true index of his mind. And in order to reach the nearest approximation to truth, it must be inferred not so much from his precepts or the opinions of his contemporaries as from his well-proven acts. Of these, there are several which furnish the surest criteria to his character. The first and foremost feeling in the Saviour's mind was one of deep compassion towards all sentient life. It is the keynote of his life: the master key to his character. Early in life, "lured by love of the wood and longing for the beauties of the ground, he went to a spot near at hand on the forest outskirts; and there he saw a piece of bed being ploughed, with the path of the plough broken like waves on the water. Having beheld the ground in this condition, with its young grass scattered and torn by the plough, and covered with the eggs and young of little insects which were killed, he was filled with deep sorrow as for the slaughter of his own kindred. And beholding the men as they were ploughing, their complexions spoiled by the dust, the sun's rays, and the wind, and their cattle bewildered with the burden of drawing, the most Noble One felt extreme compassion. Having alighted from the back of his horse, he went over the ground slowly, overcome with sorrow, pondering the birth and destruction

of the world, grieved and exclaimed, "this is, indeed, pitiable."⁽¹⁾

Though Gautam had an insuperable contempt for human life because it was so precarious and fraught with misery, he did not feel the same contempt for natural scenery. On the other hand, his whole life shows him to have been a lover of Nature and extremely susceptible to its beauties. Even when his mind was oscillating with doubt as to the end of his mission, he had not forgotten to select a site for meditation, which, with its sylvan solitude and gliding streams running along the spacious plain dotted by shady groves of arborous trees and fertile fields, seemed an ideal place for meditation and repose. "There" he says, "I thought to myself, truly this is a pleasant spot and a beautiful forest. Clear flows the river and pleasant are the bathing places: all around are meadows and villages⁽²⁾."

Such was Uruvela—a place close to Gaya, situate on the bank of the river now called the Phalgu or the Lilanja, formerly known as the Niranjana. It is now banked with masonry steps and bathing ghats with numerous temples, but in Buddha's days it must have been an ideal place for mental repose and inspiration which Gautam felt, an influence alike calming to the senses and stimulating to the mind⁽³⁾. Buddha invariably selected such sylvan retreats for his rainy camps; and his love of nature and personal beauty, pervading through all his speeches and discourses, unmistakably proves the trend of his æsthetic mind. It is indeed an inspiration which has descended to his disciples who have everywhere selected for their *Vihars* and temples, stupas and shrines, the most charming upland hills and mountains available in the neighbourhood. To him Nature and Truth were one and immutable and inseparable as beauty and love. To him the open life under the broad canopy of heaven in a mango, bamboo or sal grove on a

(1) *Buddh-Charitra* V—5-7: 49 S.E.E.

(2) Elliott's *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 137.

(3) *Lalit Vistar*, 85.

hill-side, watered by a flowing stream, was the only tonic he needed for his divine vision.

This was early, very early in life. It is invidious to institute comparisons between master-teachers of the world, the more so, as one cannot always be sure that faith may not in some cases warp one's judgment. But such comparisons have been made and one is constrained to refer to them. In his work on Buddhism, Dr. Oldenberg has permitted himself to say: "I am not aware of any instance in which a Chandal—the Pariah of that age—is mentioned in the sacred writings as a member of the Order. For the lower order of the people, for those born in toil, in manual labour, hardened by the struggle for existence, the announcement of the connection of misery with all forms of existence was not made, nor was the dialectic of the law of the painful concatenation of causes and effects calculated to satisfy 'the poor in spirit.' "To the wise belongeth this law," it is said, 'not the foolish.'" Very unlike the word of that Man who suffered 'little children to come unto him; for of such is the kingdom of God,' for children and those who are like children, the arms of Buddh are not opened⁽¹⁾." That this is not a singular criticism is clear from the comments of other writers⁽²⁾, to whom the above quotation furnishes the completest answer. Buddh was no doubt an aristocratic hermit; but his ideas were not those of an aristocrat. He was not only compassionate to the low and lowly, but even to the meanest object in the Creation. It is said that there is not a single instance in which a Chandal is mentioned as a member of the Order. Now if this were a fact, it would not support the inference; since while Buddhism was open to all, it is not every Chandal that would understand its tenets; and Chandals of all countries are notoriously ignorant and indifferent to the impact of religion.

But it is not a fact that no Chandal is mentioned as a member of the Order. On the other hand, we have an instance of a Chandal

(1) *Buddhism* 157, 158.

(2) Cf. M. Williams *Buddhism*, 555, 556

being mentioned even as a Bhikkhu by name⁽¹⁾ who had been a "vulture trainer" and was, therefore, unquestionably a Chandal⁽²⁾. He became an apostate, and being recalcitrant, was set before Buddh, who explained to him the doctrine and rebuked him for his apostacy. But apart from the Order of the monks, there are several instances of the outcasts being admitted into his fold, and that during its early stages, when such admissions must have affronted the high-born. Dr. Oldenberg himself qualifies his textual statement in his own note, adding, "By this it is not meant to imply that people of humble origin in no case appear in the old texts as members of the Order⁽³⁾." He quotes the instance of a sweeper, to which might be added those of bad women who were openly received into the Order and with whom the Lord himself dined. References have already been made to them, and Dr. Oldenberg himself mentions that fact⁽⁴⁾.

The charge, therefore, made against Buddh that his sympathy was limited to the high-born is contradicted by facts. On the other hand, his sympathy was universal and his kindness was not merely confined to little children, but extended in an equal degree to little insects in the field. In fact, his whole doctrine is a doctrine of compassion, and whether one agrees with it or not, it is a doctrine intended to bring some relief to pitiful humanity who suffer and die.

Consequently, no man has ever been more unjustly attacked than when Buddh was compared to Christ, and the one was shown to be kindly and the other indifferent. Christ helped his fishermen to catch a netful of fish to be killed and eaten. He prayed to the Almighty to fill his disciples' nets. Buddh had rigidly prohibited the taking of life. His Order was the Order founded for the purpose of bringing some peace and hope to all sentient life.

(1) His name was *Arishā* (*Arishā*)—*Kullavagga* 1-32-1; 17 S.B.E. 377-381 and see f.n.

(2) See Rys. Davids' *Buddhist India*,—54.

(3) *Buddhism*, 157 f.n.

(4) *Ib.* p. 148.

He did this by applying his axe to the very root-cause of human suffering, *viz*—Selfishness. What preacher before him or since has inculcated a higher standard of morality, a nobler service to mankind? The more we compare his ethics with those of other religious teachers of the world, the more do we feel struck by the purity of his thought and the inapproachably towering grandeur of his ethics.

Throughout his long life, Buddh's mission was preached to a singularly credulous people. They rose to be a hoary-headed nation, but ever remained children in religion. To them the talisman of a miracle was a far more potent weapon for conversion than a reasoned discourse upon Ontology. To them, no great teacher was or could be human. He must be divine. To them, the evidence of their faith was far more convincing than the evidence of their reason. To them and to such a people, it was the easiest thing in the world to capture without effort by proclaiming one self to be God-sent. Such claims have been made by smaller men. But Buddh never made it; and again and again, when he was questioned about his mission, he told them that he was speaking to them as a man to man and that the sole search-light that he threw upon the problems was one of reason. How much easier would it have been for him to have claimed: "All things are delivered unto me of my Father; and no man knoweth the Son but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him" ⁽¹⁾.

His golden key was not revelation, but reason. He held in the closet of his mind no direct knowledge, but that which could be tested and tried. "The secret of Buddh's success was that he brought spiritual deliverance to the people. He preached that salvation was equally earned to all men, and that it must be earned, not by propitiating imaginary deities, but by our own conduct. His doctrines thus cut away the religious basis of caste, impaired the efficacy of the sacrificial ritual, and assailed the supremacy of the Brahmans as the

(1) *Math*—XI—27.

mediators between God and man. Buddh taught that sin, sorrow and deliverance, the state of man in this life, in all previous and in all future lives, are the inevitable results of his own acts. He thus applied the inexorable law of cause and effect to the Soul. What a man sows, he must reap."⁽¹⁾ This was the effect of his ethical doctrine. But we are not here concerned so much with it, except so far as it reveals the man. And what does it reveal? He found his people steeped in ignorance and under the clutches of the priest-craft, who had already placed themselves between man and his Saviour. They had cut up the people into several castes, placing galling and intolerable disabilities upon the proletariat. They had placed ceremony before conviction, and the mere observance of form as more essential than useful service. Their system ignored the obligation of man to man. It despised life because it was limited, tormented it because it was worthless. Buddh challenged the authority of the Vedas and of the Brahmins as their exponents. He denied the efficacy of penance and sacrifices. He revolted against the thralldom of caste; he removed sexual inequality; he exhorted people to think; he taught them to reason; and, above all, he galvanized the entire system of hypocrisy and cant by transferring it into a living intelligible organism, imbued with the spirit of reality and earnest endeavour. Such was Gautam, such was Buddh. He had conquered all the passions of youth, ignorance and folly. As he preached, so he practised. His long life was an example and an inspiration to his contemporaries. It is a pattern and a model to all men for all times—of how they should think, of how they should act, and what they should strive to achieve.

Whether as a saint, reformer or lover of man, no man has excelled Buddh: no man can. His views on the present life may be too pessimistic, they probably are; his views on the future life may be disappointing, probably it is his philosophy that is at times faulty; but there remains the fact—that no man ever since the dawn of history has, by his

(1) Hunter's *Indian Empire*—186.

individual exertion, been the means of allaying human suffering and adding to human happiness, by heightening and ennobling his character and purging and purifying his mind. Buddha's contribution to the world-happiness must be judged, not only by what he taught but also by how its teachings had completely transformed society. He was abstemious and enjoined rigid abstinence on all his disciples. He exalted poverty in the clergy as its prime necessity. His own progression from village to village on foot, bowl in hand, was an outward expression of his inner mind. He believed that those who taught religion must not make it a living. He would permit no storage of grain or food, no collection of any supplies for his monks' animal wants. It is an ideal which later ages followed, even when they did not follow his dogma. He taught people the dignity of labour and showed it by his own example. He brought into the market-place the divine elements of virtue, patience, equanimity of temper and returning good for evil.

Throughout his life he was hounded by his own cousin, who made alliance with any one willing to humiliate him. But he never retaliated, and in the course of his long life, he not only taught but showed by his example the mental satisfaction that comes from the subjugation of evil passions and the display of generosity, magnanimity and charity. Even when a murderous plot exposed him to the cruel presence of death at the foot of a mad elephant, he was calm and collected. Even when he was tormented by the thought of the despoliation of his home, he could not be moved to retaliation. And above all, in his love for humanity, and what is more, for his equal love for all sentient life, he brought into vivid light the unity of all life, and his great kindness to the dumb creation was translated by his followers, who provided for the treatment of suffering animals. These were the first veterinary hospitals, which extended the benevolent scope of hospitals to all alike—man or beast. He taught man the value of self-realization by instituting public confessions for "Disburdenment" of sins. And as he lived, so he

died—calm, composed, collected in thought, clear in his expressions, cheerful in his resignation—a man the like of whom the world has never seen.

Though Buddha had never claimed to be anything more than a man, his death sufficed to exalt him to the rank of a God, to whom prayers might be offered. His apotheosis was claimed by two wholly independent creeds, though in an opposite sense. The Hindus regarded him as the ninth, and therefore the last, incarnation of Vishnu, "the lying spirit descended to deceive the world until the advent of his truth and final incarnation who would appear on a white horse with a flaming sword, like a comet in the land, for the destruction of the wicked and the renovation of the world." But after the dethronement of Buddhism later Brahmanical writers began to perceive Buddhism in its true perspective. Thus in Gitgobind: "Victory to Thee, O Hari, Lord of the world. O Keshav, who hast assumed the bodily form of Buddha, and out of compassionate heart forbiddest sacrifices in which the doomed animals are killed!" And the Christian church canonized him as a saint under the name of Josaphat, which is only a corruption of Bodhisatv, to whom a day has been assigned both by the Greek and Roman churches ⁽¹⁾ and to whom a church was dedicated at Palerus ⁽²⁾, and whose influence upon the apostolic Christianity was so marked and striking that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the tenets and practice of the one were the pattern and prototype of the other. "It is difficult to enter a Japanese Buddhist temple without being struck by analogies to the Christian ritual on the one hand, and to Hinduism on the other. The chanting of the priests, their bowing as they pass the altar, their vestments, rosaries, bells, incense, and the responses of the worshippers remind one of the Christian ritual."⁽³⁾ And it is not in ritual alone that Buddhism has influenced Christianity. As will be seen later, the analogy goes deeper, down to the cardinal doctrines of Christianity and to the very words of its Founder.

(1) Max Muller—*4 Chips from a German Workshop*, 177-189.

(2) Hunter's *Indian Empire*, 196, 197.
(3) *Ib.* 197.

CHAPTER VIII.

LEGENDARY LIFE OF BUDDH.

The legendary life of Buddh is contained in two works—the *Lalit Vistar* and the *Buddh Charitra* of Ashwaghosh⁽¹⁾. Apart from the few historical facts already referred to in the preceding pages, these works have no value except to the devout, for whom they were composed. It is not, therefore, proposed to recount their details here beyond indicating their general trend, to enable the curious to see how the simple life of a great man suffers from the adulation of his worshippers. The *Lalit Vistar* commences with the life of Gautam as Bodhisatv in the Tushit heaven where he is worshipped by countless gods and nymphs to whom he preaches the law. He then decided to descend to the earth after a period of twelve years. His advent was heralded by the gods coming down to the earth to instruct the Brahmans and inform the Pratyek-Buddhs of the impending arrival of Buddh. He decided to adorn the house of Shuddhodhan, as he was then a virtuous king with a queen Maya, who was free from all deceit and possessed of effulgence and splendour like the splendour of the sun. Before leaving the heaven he summoned to audience all the gods and in their presence placed his golden crown on the Maitreya, appointing him his successor. The gods wept and clasping the feet of the Bodhisatv said, "This dwelling of Tushit, O Noble One, when thou art departed, will not shine any more." The Bodhisatv consoled them, adding that the Maitreya he was leaving behind, would instruct them in the law. He then in the month of Baishakh⁽²⁾ assumed "the form of a huge elephant white like Himalaya, armed with six tusks: with his face perfumed with flowing ichor, entered the womb of the queen of King Shuddhodhan to destroy the evils of the world"⁽³⁾.

(1) 49 S.B.E., 1—207.

(2) L.V., 14.

(3) *Buddh Charitra*—49, S.B.E. I—20, 4.

He had then in attendance a hundred thousand million Kotis of gods and Yakshas from the beautiful Tushit abode. "Without being touched, hundreds of thousands of million Kotis of divine and human music-instruments offered sweet sounds. A hundred thousand ten thousand Kotis of gods bore the great pavilion on their hands, their shoulders and heads. And the hundred thousands of Apsaras, every one making her own music, placed themselves in front, behind, left and right of the Bodhisatv, praising him with the melody of their harmonious songs."⁽¹⁾ "In the mother when the entering of the womb has taken place, there appears directly on the right side a raṇavyuh-pavilion," and in that pavilion remains the Bodhisatv sitting with legs crossed. For the body of the Bodhisatv in his latest existence has not the nature of the fleshly substance of a foetus, but he appears seated complete with all his limbs and parts of limbs and with all the requisite tokens.

The queen then sent for the king in the Ashoke wood, whither he had repaired. He tried to enter her presence, but found his body too heavy to carry him. He bowed with reverence and appearing before his queen, asked her why he had been summoned. The queen told him of her dream in which the elephant had entered her womb and asked him to consult the Brahmans what it meant. The latter told her that she would be the mother of Buddh, the Saviour of the world. The king was exercised in his mind what preparation to make to give the saviour a fitting reception; but the four great kings approached him and promised to prepare a house for the Bodhisatv. Then came Chakra, the King of the Gods, and he promised to give the Bodhisatv a dwelling like that of Vaijayant. Then in the great city of Kapil all the Kamvakar-rulers of the Gods each built a palace in honour of the Bodhisatv; and Shuhddodhan also prepared a palace excelling all human dwellings. "While the Bodhisatv remained in the womb, he continued to be on the right side, sitting with legs crossed." And all those who were possessed by a God, Nag, Yaksh, Gandharv, Asur, Garud or Bhut,—men, women, boys or

(1) L V., 14.

girls, when they saw the queen, recovered their senses and got back their memory, and those who had lost their human shape recovered it on the spot; and those who were suffering, became whole and healthy.

Now when ten months had passed in this way and the time for the Bodhisatv's birth was come, there appeared in the palace and the park of King Suddhodhan two and thirty omens.....From the slopes of the Himalaya came young lions continually, and after passing round the excellent city named Kapil, with rejoiced greetings, keeping the city on their right, they lay down on the thresholds of the gates without doing harm to any one. Five hundred young white elephants came and saluted King Shuddhodhan's feet with the end of their trunks. Children of the gods, with girdles round their waists, appeared in King Shuddhodhan's private apartments and seated themselves on the lap of first the one and then another''⁽¹⁾.

In the spring when the queen felt that her time for delivery had approached, she started for her pleasure-garden, accompanied by 84,000 horse-carriages decorated with all sorts of ornaments and by 84,000 elephant carriages decorated with all sorts of ornaments, escorted by 84,000 warriors, brave, warlike, well-favoured, handsome, clad in mail and armour, followed by 60,000 Shakya women, guarded by 40,000 Shakyas of the family of King Shuddhodhan, old, young and middle-aged accompanied by 60,000 persons of King Shuddhodhan's private apartments, who made harmonious music, consisting of singing and the sound of all sorts of instruments, surrounded by 84,000 gods' daughters, 84,000 Nag-daughters, 84,000 Gandharv-daughters, 84,000 Kinnar-daughters, and 84,000 Asur-daughters, adorned with differently composed ornaments who sang all kinds of songs of praise⁽²⁾. On the day appointed for the advent of the Bodhisatv, Maya went into the garden and selected a great *palash* tree which bowed to salute her. Ten million Apsaras of the Kamvakar gods descended to form a train to serve Queen Maya.

(1) L. F., 28.

(2) L. F., 330.

The Bodhisatv then came out of his mother's right side in possession of memory and knowledge, unsullied by the impurity of the mother's womb. Without any man's help he took seven steps to the East and said: "Behold I shall be the first of all Dharmas who are the roots of salvation."

The gods of heaven bathed the newly born Bodhisatv and sprinkled him with blossoms; fly-whisks appeared in the air, and an umbrella adorned with jewels. And as he walked, the divine-white large umbrella and the two magnificent fans moved above him in the air unsupported. At every spot where the Bodhisatv set his foot, lotuses sprung up "When he was born, the earth, though fastened down by the Himalaya, the monarch of mountains, shook like a ship tossed by the wind; and from a cloudless sky there fell a shower full of lotuses and waterlilies, and perfumed with sandal-wood."⁽¹⁾ Seven days after his birth, his mother died to be born again among the three and thirty gods. Thereupon 500 Shakya women vied with one another to act as his foster-mother. But the honour fell to her sister Mahaprajapati Gautami.

As was the custom, Shuddhodhan took his infant son to be presented to the gods of the family temple. But no sooner had the king with the prince crossed its threshold, all the gods within stood up in a body assuming their real forms and threw themselves at the feet of the Bodhisatv. Other miracles followed; and so the young prince grew up till he was entered in the school. But as soon as the school-master Vishvamitra saw him, he fell with his face to the ground, for the majesty and radiance of the Bodhisatv was greater than he could bear. The Bodhisatv then questioned him what language he wanted him to learn, Brahmi or Kharosti. The school-master was dazed at the precocity of his pupil who knew more than his teacher, but had nevertheless deigned to come to the children's school.

(1) *Buddh Charitra*, 49, S.B.E., I--40, 7

When he had passed the period of childhood and reached that of middle youth, the king remembered the prophecy that the prince would either become a Buddha or the Universal Monarch. He, therefore, wished to divert his mind to sensual pleasures ; and opened negotiations for his marriage, which was preceded by a tournament in which the victor was to obtain the prize of a bride : Gautam beat all his competitors and won his bride who happened to be his own cousin—Gopi.

Gautam was reflective, but had not yet left his home ; because the time was not yet. When it arrived the God Hariḍev, son of the God Tushitkayik, followed by 32,000 gods' sons came into the palace and spake thus : " What death is, has been set forth O Radiant One ; and what birth is, has been expounded, O Lion amongst men. In giving instruction to the women's apartment, thou hast followed the custom of the world. Many in the world of gods and men have become ripe and have attained the Law. The time is now come ; consider well thy resolve to depart." The sight of old age, disease and death hastened his decision. And on the appointed day as he left his home, the earth shook and became bestrewn with flowers, the air was filled with music and gods and Asurs praised him. For six years he followed the usual course of severe asceticism and self-denial which reduced him to a skeleton. Thereupon the gods' sons came to him and said : " Most Noble Being, thou needest not partake of such abundance of food ; we will infuse the strength thereof through thy pores." But the Bodhisatv refused this offer, saying to himself that it would be a lie to feed through the pores when he had vowed to abstain eating through the mouth. This brought on extreme emaciation which reached the ears of Maya Devi in heaven.

Indeed, some of the gods seeing him in this condition, even thought that he was dead, and they conveyed these tidings to her. Maya Devi immediately descended to the bank of the Niranjan, where Gautam had his abode, and visiting him at midnight and finding his body withered, and himself lying like one dead, she began to cry : but the Bodhisatv

consoled her saying, "Fear not for love of thy son; thou shalt pluck the fruit of thy labour. Not in vain doth a Buddh renounce the world. I shall fulfil the prophecy of Asit and make plain the prediction of Dipangkar; though the earth should fall into a hundred fragments, and Meru droop with his radiant brow into the waters, though the sun, the moon and stars should be smitten to the ground, yet I, the only human being, should not die. Therefore, be not sorrowful, for soon wilt thou behold the wisdom of a Buddh" (1).

After six years of penance his russet garments got tattered. A son of the Shuddhvas-Kayik gods offered him a russet garment which he accepted. And when he decided to resume the taking of his ordinary diet, the gods of Uruvela deputed Sujata, daughter of the village Chief, Nandik, to get ready milk and rice in a golden bowl which the Bodhisatv partook of in her house. Having taken the food, he wished to return the golden bowl but Sujata said, "I will give no one food without the bowl." He returned with the bowl and wanted to take a bath in the river Niranjana which the gods filled with divine perfume and after taking his bath, he threw the golden bowl into the river. The Nag King, Kallik, removed it to heaven where he built a stup thereon to adore it. Gautam then selected a tree under which he spread grass and sat thereon, uttering the following vow: "May my body wither on this seat, my skin, bones and flesh decay; until I have attained the wisdom so hard to attain in many aeons, my body shall not be moved from this seat." He then reflected: "Here in the Kingdom of desire, Mar, the Evil One, is Lord and Ruler; it would not become me to attain the highest and most perfect wisdom without his knowledge. Let me then provoke Mar, the Evil One."

Mar got ready for his on-slaught. He prepared terrible weapons with which to fight Gautam. But the latter reminded him of his millions of lives and sacrifices therein, and touched the Earth saying, "I appeal to this mother of creatures, O Evil One." As soon as she was touched, this mighty earth

(1) *Lalit Vistar*, 86.

trembled in six manners; and the goddess of the Earth, Sthavira, appeared surrounded by hundred Kotis of Earth-goddesses and bowing to the Bodhisatv spake, "It is so, Great Being, it is so as thou hast declared, we are all witnesses thereof." Mar then tried the art of seduction and deputed his daughters to inveigle him by their allurements; but he was firm as the king of the mountains. Mar fell back helpless; and in the late watch of that night, as the day began to break, there dawned upon him the threefold knowledge. Thereupon the gods spake, "Strew flowers, O friends, Bhagwan hath attained the wisdom." Then the gods strewed divine flowers over the Tathagat till a knee deep layer of the blossoms was formed."

Gautam now became Buddh and all the Buddans rejoiced and sent him umbrellas made of precious stones to shade him. He remained there a week more in contemplation; after which the Kamvakar gods' sons took ten thousand vases of perfumed water and bathed him. There was a concourse of other gods. He remained there three more weeks; in the second, he took a long walk that included the complex of the 3,000 great thousands of worlds. In the third week, he took a short walk for the distance that is between the East and the West Sea. The fourth week, he spent in a Jewel House made by the gods. In the fifth week, he stayed in the dwelling of the Nag King, Muslind, who protected him with his hood. In the sixth week, the Tathagat went away from the dwelling of Muslind to the banyan tree of the goat-herds.

Then the four guardians of the world offered him four golden bowls, which he declined. They then offered silver bowls, which he also declined. Then thought the Tathagat, "In what kind of bowl was food received by the former Tathagats?" "In stone bowls," he remembered. The four kings offered him four stone bowls, but he needed only one. He did not, however, like to displease the other three. So he accepted all and made them into one.

Then the great Brahm came to request him to reveal the Law. He touched his feet in reverence and made the

request. The Tathagat yielded and said that he would do so. He then went to Benares where he preached his first sermon, which closes the life as depicted in the *Lalit Vistar*.

Asvaghosh, who borrowed his narrative from that work, carried it to his return home. But his narrative is throughout embellished with a similar account of the gods, Jins and Asurs, who flocked from worlds innumerable, to listen to his discourse, made clouds to shelter him, rain to cool him and poured perfume to regale him ; while he, on his part, performed numerous miracles of which the following is an example. He wanted to wash himself. So Shakra dug out a great river full of water and four stones were brought to him by the four Mahorags. He sat on one, washed on the other, dried on the third ; and another he flung up in the sky ; the stone as it flew up reached the blazing city and astonished all the worlds."

Later books have embroidered his life with equally wild and unvaried imagery.

CHAPTER IX.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS.

The Buddhistic Order was a religious republic: it knew of no hierarchy. Every member of the order was equal and equally free to work out his own salvation. Buddha had instituted the Order of monks and nuns, but he provided no graded service of his disciples. The clergy were all sworn to celibacy, the lay brethren were free to marry and follow their ordinary pursuits. He had nominated no successor; he had provided for no means of his election or appointment. He had entrusted the Sangh—the congregation of monks—to uphold and disseminate his doctrine. When he started his missionary career, he was all alone. Even the five disciples who had come to him during his period of reflection and preparation had deserted him. They rejoined him and their number soon swelled into hundreds and then to thousands, so that when Buddha died, his religion had become a national religion in all *Aryavart*, that is, in what is now Northern India. It had percolated to the South, but north of the Ganges it had attained the pre-eminence of a paramount religion. Buddha was no mean judge of men. He had freely mixed with the people and he knew too well their predominant love of display and zest for power. He entrusted his creed to the collective wisdom of his congregation. If he had been a lesser man, the inclination of his mind would have impelled him to nominate his faithful Anand, who had ever stood loyally by him and whose influence in the country was only second to his own, to the headship of his Church.

But though Buddha had designated no successor, he had left a large number of disciples, who had become graded amongst themselves, as "chief disciples" ⁽¹⁾ or "great disciples" ⁽²⁾, according to their qualifications—of the latter, there were eighty, and of these sixteen or more ranked as

(1) "*Agra-Shravak*" (Sk. *Agra*—foremost leaders, *Shravak*—disciples).

(2) "*Maha-Shravak*" (Sk. *Maha*—great *Shravak*—disciples).

chiefs. Some of his chief disciples—e.g., Sariputra and Mandgalyan (Moggallana) had predeceased the Master; but amongst those who survived him were his two cousins Anand and Anurudh, Kashyap and Katyayan, to whom on a later date two more, Khema and Uppalvaru (Uppala-Vanna) were added. These chief disciples became afterwards known as *Sthavirs* or *Mahasthavirs*. But these and others, though entitled to consideration on account of their age, experience or learning, had no recognised status or position of authority in the brotherhood. Even in its later development which settled the rules of the clergy, the constitution was still democratic and all disciples always remained on the same level of equality. But later on, as the religion became international, each Sangh or congregation developed its own individuality and became more and more self-contained, ending in the Sanghs becoming wholly independent organizations, each one with an elected Head of its own.

But such world-wide development Buddha never expected, and he never provided for its control. In fact, the system which he had originated was in reality not a religious system. It will be seen later, how religious ideas developed long after his time. To him the problems which had baffled the Vedic sages were too abstruse and theoretical. He never disclosed what his views were about God—whether He was personal, or a World-spirit, and to what extent, if at all, He governed the Universe. But he did not ignore that supreme problem. His views, or rather the views of his religion on the subject, have given occasion to its critics for denouncing his religion as declaredly atheistic. It is not so. There is more plausibility in the view that "Buddhism declares itself ignorant of any mode of personal existence, compatible with the idea of spiritual perfection, and so far it is ignorant of God".⁽¹⁾ Nor did he apply his mind to the ultimate destiny of man and its relation to individual consciousness, and his earliest view of Nirvan was no more than the enjoyment of a state of rest, consequent on the extinction of all causes of sorrow.⁽²⁾

(1) Beal—*Catena of Buddhist scriptures*
—153.

(2) *Ib.*—157.

His main objective was to mitigate, if he could not eliminate, human suffering. As such, all his work, all his teachings were centred upon the practice of virtue. As such, Buddha was, first and foremost, the greatest of humanitarians, the first to fathom the true cause of human suffering and the first to offer a solution for its alleviation. He did not consider that the practice of virtue was incompatible with the highest ethics of any religion; and consequently he did not launch any frontal attack upon the existing religion—except so far as that religion countered his ethics. It was not, therefore, necessary for him to provide for the formation of any organization beyond what was germane to his purpose. In his farewell exhortation he adverted to the necessity of a successor: “It may be, Anand”, he said, “that in some of you, thought may arise—the words of our Teacher are ended; we have lost our Master. But it is not thus. The truths and the rules of the Order, which I have taught and preached, let these be your Teacher, when I am gone”.⁽¹⁾ These parting words shew clearly the bent of his mind. In making his congregation the joint executors of his religious testament, he adopted a course at variance with both precedents and practice. For he knew that a religious order, as much as a political power, required a head to control its members. But he equally foresaw the danger of adopting such a course. He, therefore, appointed his Order the custodians of his doctrine. That doctrine had been imparted to them by word of mouth. Its principles had been broadcasted by him in Sanghs, open debates and popular lectures. He had made sure that its principles were intelligible to the meanest intelligence. To him they were simple; or rather it is to simplify them that he had consecrated his life and spent six years in deep reflection. He had reduced his tenets to a simple syllogism: where there is life, there is pain; the latter was the inseparable incident of the other: that pain could only end with death and not with death alone; it will return with returning life. How then to eliminate it?—by uprooting its main trunk which lay embedded in selfishness.

(1) *Mahaparinirvan*, VI—1.

A selfless life was, therefore, his ideal: it was his goal. The theatre for the display of selfishness was the world, its stage was the arena for Buddhism. The Buddhist must in his thought, action and conduct show that he had eradicated all selfishness from his nature. He must prove to himself, by introspection and public confessions of his sins, how far he had progressed towards his appointed goal. The Master had left an example for all world to follow.

Unlike the founders of other great religions who succeeded him, Buddha was himself a highly educated man. But, nevertheless, he never reduced his system to a treatise. He trusted to oral instruction and exposition of his views. The reason for this is obvious. The Vedas being alleged to be inspired, being in fact,—as Sayan claimed, the very breath of Brahm, not only as to the matter but also as to the alphabet, language and its grammar, they had to be reduced to writing and as the Sanskrit script and vocabulary had long since been settled, they were committed to writing and so were their philosophic treatises from which Buddha imbibed his religious knowledge. He counted amongst his disciples some of the most learned Brahman preceptors of the time, the natural inclination of whose mind would be to follow the practice of their forebears and reduce the Master's teaching to writing. But nevertheless it was never done during Buddha's lifetime and not for a thousand years thereafter. So far as Buddha himself is concerned, there appears to be a very good reason why nothing was committed to writing. Buddha did not wish to crystallize his doctrine by throwing it into a rigid scripture. He did not wish to arouse the superstitious veneration of his disciples by following the methods of the Brahmans. And there were other reasons. The old Brahman sages who compiled the Vedas and its philosophic appendices—Vyas, Jaimini and Yagnavalkya—had done so for the exclusive use of the priests who supervised sacrifices in accordance with the prescribed ritual. They were a sealed book to the laity, who had not mastered the sacred tongue; and there was no incentive for them to study books

which gave them no mental training and which had no practical value to them.

Moreover, written books in those days must have been costly and rare, added to which was the fact that they were fragile and perishable as they were all written upon the perishable birch-bark which was susceptible to the changes of weather. In the case of Buddha his very method of teaching did not lend itself to writing. He had formulated his doctrine, not for the use of a select company of scholars but for the masses, to whom he and his disciples addressed in their own vernacular dialects. His discourses were not a set series of sermons on a given subject, but disconnected and discursive, and were intended to hit off the various points that arose or called for immediate answer. Even as regards his central doctrine, he did not trust to the written word, because it was to impart "Bodhi" or wisdom to those who were taught and who had to make it their own and impart its knowledge to others in their own way and their own language.⁽¹⁾ At any rate, whatever might have been the reason, the fact remains that the teachings of Buddha were never committed to writing during his lifetime. The Master was available for ready reference. But as soon as he died, the disciples lost no time in taking steps to glean his scattered thoughts. And as writing was not then the only means of perpetuating a record, means were adopted to bring together all those who had memorized his sayings.

His words still lingered in the memories of the faithful. It was necessary to reduce them to a common factor. It called for the necessity of collective consultation. Accordingly, immediately after his death, 500 of his elder disciples—called *Mahasthavis*, met in a vast cave called Sattapanni near Rajgrah under the *ægis* of King Ajatshatru to chant and gather together all his sayings. This was the first council.

It collected and classified all that the Master had taught and said, into three great divisions—the rules of discipline (*Vinaya*);

(1) This language, so far as Magadhi is concerned, is Pali, 'Magadhi' as it was

called in Magadhi. Childers' Pali Dictionary: Preface XI, f.n. (3)

the words of the Master to his disciples—(*Suttas*) and his system of doctrine (*Abhidharm*), all the three being collectively called the *Pitaks* (or Baskets or collections) afterwards called the five *Nikayas*. From the fact that the first council chanted together all his sayings, the Council became known as *Sangit*, and in *Pali* *Sangiti*.

At this council, Kashyap—⁽¹⁾ the learned and distinguished Brahman whom Buddha had converted and who was one of his eighty great disciples whom he left surviving him, was elected as their leader to chant the *Sthavir* or "words of the elders" or precepts of the Master preserved in the memory of older men; he also communicated the Master's philosophical doctrines—then undeveloped; the rules of discipline (*Vinay*) were recited by Upali, the family-barber of the Shakyas, who had risen to rank as one of his "chief" disciples; the ethical precepts (*Suttas*) were recounted by Anand. This was the first attempt at a classification of his teachings. But the classification was rough and far from logical or methodical, since the matter thrown into the *Suttas* was equally to be found in his precepts. However, it was the commencement of an idea and served its purpose in clarifying the line along which his disciples were to act. The rules of discipline had, however, become more clearly settled in the Master's lifetime; and these were formally adopted as laws of the Order. They were ten in number and included prohibitions to receive money-gifts, the partaking of a second meal in the afternoon, drinking stimulating beverages, even if appearing pure as water; rules for the admission to the Order, confession in private houses, the use of comfortable seats, relaxation of monastic rules in remote country-places, atonement for breach of rules, drinking whey, storage of salt for future use, power of citing the example of others as a valid excuse for relaxing discipline.

Strict conformity to these rules was insisted on; but the fraternity soon found strict compliance with them irksome; and in course of time, it became difficult to resist the temptation

(1) Then given the honorific designation of *Maha Kashyap* (or the great Kashyap.)

of accepting money-gifts. This last became a serious bone of contention between the fraternity who became sharply divided into the strict and the lax Sangha. A hundred years had since elapsed and in or about 443 B.C., according to the orthodox date, ⁽¹⁾ a second council was convened for the settlement of outstanding disputes, which unfortunately it failed to do.

The second Council met at Vaishali (Vesali now Besarh) twenty-seven miles North of Patna, and was attended by seven hundred monks to discuss the ten prohibitions. The discussion was protracted for eight months, but in the end the previous decision was re-affirmed and a system of "Indulgences", which had since grown up, condemned.

That decision widened the schism, which had already been gaining momentum during the preceding hundred years, and the upholders of "Indulgences" formally seceded from the older party and formed themselves into a new sect. The ensuing hostility between the two sects led to their further disruption which gave birth to no less than eighteen sects which became subdivided into thirty-two sects, and in the fourth century A.D. the Chinese traveller Fa-hien refers to as many as ninety-six. But it did not retard the progress of Buddhism which continued to spread right up to the frontiers of the Punjab.

Within three hundred years of the death of the founder, his religion became sub-divided into numerous sects, of which eighteen are spoken of as the principal ones. The Chinese and Tibetan books give detailed information on the tenets held by the separatists. According to Vasumitra, who lived about 42 B.C., and whose treatise on the eighteen principal schools of Buddhism, has been translated into Chinese, the founder of Buddhism is alleged to have prophesied the disruption of his religion into the eighteen schools, into which his Dharma became disrupted. The Blessed One said: "There will be twelve schools amongst my followers hereafter, in which (the separate interpretation of) my law will be preserved in the world. These schools will be the repositories of the diversified fruits of my

(1) According to Oldenberg, 380 B.C.

Scriptures (*Pitaks*) without priority or inferiority—just as the taste of the sea-water is everywhere the same—or as the twelve sons of one man, all honest and true, so will be the expositions of my doctrines, advocated by these schools". That the Blessed One could never have looked upon with complacency the coming into being of the eighteen antagonistic schools to wrangle over his teachings need scarcely be mentioned. The fact is that the apostles of heresy invented a prophecy so as to give their tenets an added sanctity.

The first two schools were those founded by Mahasamghikas⁽¹⁾ and Pili⁽²⁾, of which the former is said to have come into existence within a hundred years of the Founder's Nirvan. It was founded by the Ekvavyahariks. A century later, another school called Kukkulikas came into existence. At similar intervals, other schools such as Bahushrutyas made their appearance. Three of them were named from the locality in which the founders lived. Such was the school of Bahushrutyas, called To-man in Tibet from the place where its founder lived, the Chattiyaavas with their Tibetan analogue—Chet-tai-ho, and Purvasailas or those of the 'Eastern Mountain',—another called themselves Uttarshailas, because they belonged to the 'Northern Mountain'. But all these were off-shoots of the Mahasamghikas. Other schools followed in quick succession.

The leading feature of the various schools was that they radically differed upon almost every principle of the doctrine or of its rituals. For example, the following four schools—Mahasamghikas, Ekvavyaharikas, Lokottaras, Kukkulikas, maintain that the tradition respecting the Buddhs having been born into the world (as men) is incorrect, or that there was only one Tathagat in the world. They hold that Tathagat is infinitely extended, immeasurably glorious, eternal in duration, that to his power of recollection, his power of faith, his experience of joy, and his life, there is no end; he sleeps not; he speaks, asks, reflects not; and that his existence

(1) The great congregation, composed of young and old alike.

(2) The congregation of old men only.

They recognised only the authority of the original—Vinay.

is ever one and uniform, that all things ⁽¹⁾ born may obtain deliverance by having his instruction, that in his essential existence, the Tathagat comprehends all subjects in a moment by his own wisdom. They all say that the "Turning Wheel of the Law" is at an end. They hold that "things exist", "relationships exist", "Truth exists". Other sects controvert those views, while a third sect of dissenters accept modifications of one or the other of the above dogmas, or enunciate those of their own. Buddhism has thus become cyclopædic of human thought, and there is no line of speculation or a dogma which does not find its supporters in one or other of the recognized schools of Buddhism. The same may equally be asserted of the Brahmanical thought.

But the political events, to which we must now advert, have a close bearing upon the history of the period that intervened between the second and the third council, which was convened by Ashoke—in or about 244 B.C.

From time immemorial and down to the fourth century B.C., the ruling kings of India had invariably been Kshatriyas to whom Brahmans became attached as priests. But the popular awakening, due to the spread of Buddhism, soon changed the political history of dynasties. The Shudras or the submerged classes had already begun to raise themselves in the social scale. Buddhism had already broken down the barrier between caste and caste. It had shattered the Brahmans' claim to supremacy. It had proclaimed the equality of man and universal brotherhood. It had received within its inner fold Shudras and Chandals. It had successfully attacked privilege, and taught man the value of freedom and self-help.

That teaching had a natural re-percussion in the political history of India. The Kshatriya rule and the Brahman supremacy had both been attacked and successfully stormed by the growing strength of the proletariat. It resulted in the dethronement of the Kshatriyas and the installation of Shudra Kings. Of these, those known as the "Nine Nandas" ruled

(1) *Eighteen schools of Buddhism* (Tr. Antiquary, 299-302.
by Rev. S. Beal.) (1890) *The Indian*

over India for a period of nearly 91 years, dating from about 413 B.C. ⁽¹⁾. The rule of the Nandas was brought to a close by Chandragupta, another Shudra of the Mayur ⁽²⁾ (Maurya) clan with the aid of his Brahman minister by name—Kautilya or Vishnugupta. He ascended the throne of Magadh in 322 or 325 B.C.—some 4 or 5 years after Alexander's invasion of India in 326 B.C. At that time, the Punjab was split up into many independent states. Megasthenes writing twenty years later, mentions the existence of one hundred and eighteen distinct nations or tribes in the whole of India with distinct governments of their own. According to tradition, Chandragupta was himself the son of the last Nand King by a low-born woman, said to have been the daughter of the keeper of king's peacocks, (*Mayur-poshak*) from which fact he is said to have acquired the surname of Mayur. ⁽³⁾ He had met Alexander when he came to India; and on his death, he successfully attacked and destroyed his garrison.

About the same time (321 B.C.), he effected a revolution in Pataliputra (Patna), the capital of Magadh, exterminated the Nand family and proclaimed himself as its King. He ruled for twenty-four years an empire which extended from the end of Bengal to the Hindu Kush Mountains. Afghanistan was under his sway and so was country stretching from the Himalayas to at least the Nerbada, if not to Mysore. He is said to have become a Jain and hostile to Buddhists, whom as heretics, he consigned to live with the Chandals beyond the burial grounds. ⁽⁴⁾. In 298 B.C. he abdicated the throne, became an ascetic and after twelve years starved himself to death. He was succeeded by his son, King Bindeshwar, who ruled till 273 B.C., when he was succeeded by one of his sons *Ashokevardhan* ⁽⁵⁾, commonly called Ashoke, whom his father had selected to succeed him in supersession to his elder brother—Sushim. He ascended the throne of Magadh

(1) V. Smith—*History of India*,—57, 58.

(2) Sk. Mayur—a peacock, an epithet of Kautilya.

(3) Barodia (U. D.) '*History and Literature of Jainism*'—14; Mr. Vincent Smith derives '*Mayur*' from his mother's name '*Mura*,' which seems improbable.

(4) Havell (E. B.) *The History of Aryan Rule in India*, 77.

(5) Sk. Ashoke—A—negative, *Shoke*—sorrow, *Vardhan*—increasing, growth—A bestower of prosperity. Lit. "one who bestows happiness and prosperity"

in 265 B.C. and commemorated that event by murdering his 99 half-brothers ⁽¹⁾. In 261 B.C. he attacked and annexed the kingdom of Kalinga. But the slaughter and misery of his campaign, caused to the people of Kalinga, drove him to remorse, and he promptly embraced Buddhism and the striking change produced in his mentality is vividly portrayed by himself in his longest rock-edict No. 13, in which he ascribes his conversion to the cruelty and slaughter of his attack on Kalinga and the remorse it caused to him. He then resolves to propagate his new faith to all and sundry including the jungle-folk. True conquest, he adds, consists in the conquest of men's hearts by the law of duty or piety,—a conquest which endures beyond the grave, a conquest which he exhorts his sons and grand sons to pursue; “and, if perchance, they should become involved in a conquest by force of arms, to take their pleasure in patience and gentleness, so that they may by effort attain that joy of spirit which is available for both this world and the next.”

He then adopts the language of Buddha and affirms “all men are my children” and exhorts his officers that they must beware of yielding to the vices of “envy, lack of perseverance, harshness, laziness and indolence,” threatening them with his displeasure, if they should fail in their duty. Ashoke did for Buddhism what Constantine afterwards effected for Christianity; he organized it on the basis of a state-religion. This he accomplished by five means—by a council to settle the faith, by edicts promulgating its principles, by a state-department to watch over its purity, by missionaries to spread its doctrines, and by an authoritative revision of canon of the Buddhist scriptures.

In 244 B.C. he convened at Patna the third Buddhist council of one thousand elders, and the most important; for it decided to propagate the faith by missions; and Ashoke deputed his own son—Mahendra, as its first missionary to Ceylon. He is stated to have despatched altogether nine missions to distant parts of India and Burmah and to the Greek kingdoms in Asia and Africa. Of these missions, the one to Ceylon was a striking success. It appears to have gone

(1) Buddhghoah :—*Sutta Vibhag*, I—Kern :—*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, 299; *Vinay Pitak*, III—IV : 114.

there on the invitation of King Tissa who ruled for forty years. He welcomed the mission, became a convert to the new faith and expended the same energy in measures for the propagation of Buddhism in Ceylon as his friend Ashoke did in India. Mahendra⁽¹⁾ settled down in Ceylon where he died in 204 B.C. He was aided by his sister Sanghamitra, ⁽²⁾ who ably assisted him and whose name is still remembered in that island. King Tissa was not only the most earnest propagator of the faith, but he was its most magnanimous supporter.

He and all his successors built the great sacred city of Ameradhpur in which vast hill-like *dagobas*, higher than St. Paul's Cathedral, and covering many acres of ground, rear their mighty domes above the trees of a royal park, and royal baths and palaces given to the Sangh. The 7,774 Bhikkhus, who to-day keep alive the religion, are thus descendants in an unbroken succession of the great Mahendra himself, and in Ceylon monasticism has had a unique chance of proving its worth.⁽³⁾ "Rome to-day is a mean thing, the Forum, a mean jostle of littleness, compared with the sacred city—vast, resigned, silent, leisurely, with full consciousness of an eternity of desolation to face."⁽⁴⁾

Ashoke's enthusiasm for Buddhism was incessant and unbounded, and at one time he himself assumed the garb of a monk. He had his edicts engraved upon rocks and stone-pillars and had them installed all over the country, not excluding the most distant and inaccessible regions of his Empire. These are stated to have numbered as many as 84,000 and it is not surprising, seeing that, in spite of the despoliation by time and the hand of conquerors, no less than thirty monolith columns or pillars have been traced and many more are likely to be yet discovered. They were well distributed all over his empire which then included as already observed, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, the Swat valley with the adjoining tribal territory Kashmir, Nepal and the whole of India, with the exception of Assam, and as far South as the northern districts of Mysore.

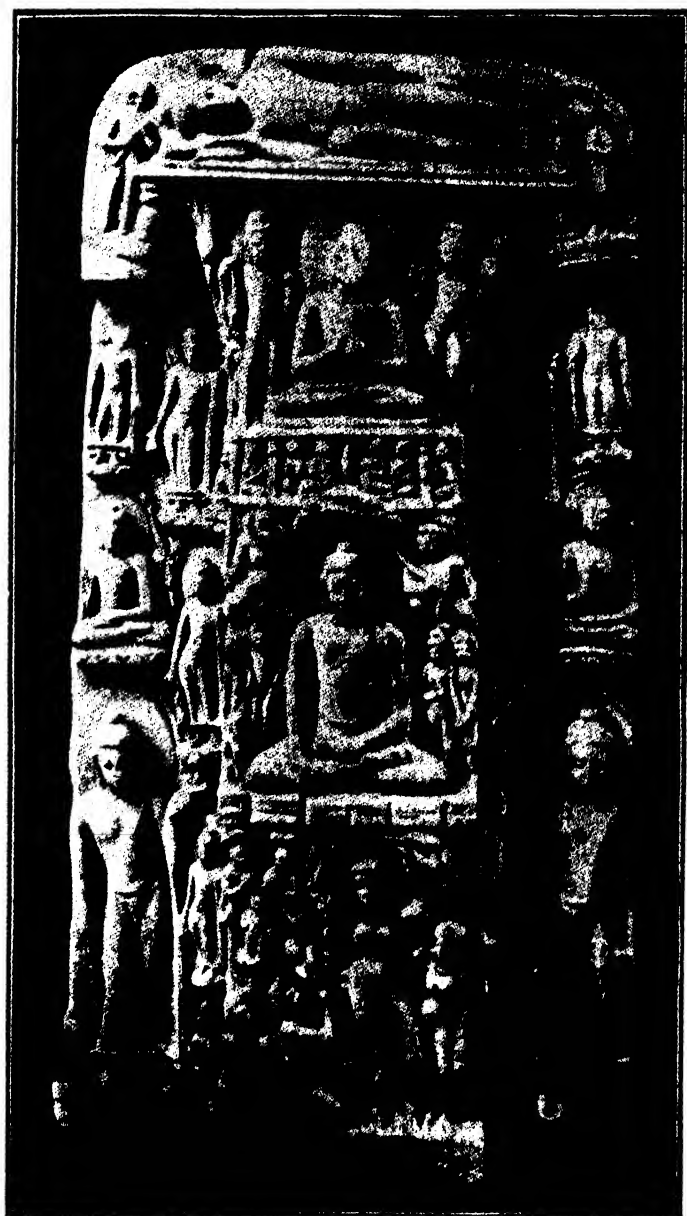
(1) V. Smith describes him as Ashoke's *Mitra*—friend—Friend of the Sangha. brother. *History of India*, 89.

(2) K. J. Sanders—*The story of*
(3) *Sik. Sangh*—congregation—name *Buddhism*, 76-79.
(4) Farrer—*In old Ceylon*, 246.

They were not only the Moral Code, but became the Penal Code, enforced by censors appointed for the purpose. They dealt with the following points:—

- (1) Prohibition of the slaughter of animals for food or sacrifice.
- (2) Provision of a system of medical aid for men and animals, and of plantations and wells on the road-side.
- (3) Order for a quinquennial humiliation and re-publication of the great moral precepts of the Buddhist faith.
- (4) Comparison of the former state of things, and the happy existing state under the King.
- (5) Appointment of missionaries to go into various countries, which are enumerated, to convert the people and foreigners.
- (6) Appointment of informers (or inspectors) and guardians of morality.
- (7) Expression of a desire that there may be uniformity of religion and equality of rank.
- (8) Contrast of the carnal pleasures of previous rulers with the pious enjoyments of the present King.
- (9) Inculcation of the true happiness to be found in virtue, through which alone the blessing of Heaven can be propitiated.
- (10) Contrast of the vain and transitory glory of this world with the reward for which the King strives and looks beyond.
- (11) Inculcation of the doctrine that the imparting of Dharm or teaching of virtue to others is the greatest of charitable gifts.
- (12) Address to all unbelievers.
- (13) (Imperfect ; the meaning conjectural.)
- (14) Summary of the whole.⁽¹⁾

(1) Cuent's Summary, *Hunter's Indian Empire*—191, 192.



(7) Panel illustrating 4 scenes of Buddha's life.

The edicts were not uniform. He enjoined obedience to parents, truth-speaking, compassion to all, kind treatment of hired servants and slaves, charity and toleration of other religions. He carried out his own precepts—built rest-houses, dug wells, and planted trees on the road-side for the comfort of travellers, opened free hospitals for man and beast, not only in his own empire, but also in the territories of friendly and independent States. In some of his edicts, he enjoined “intense self-examination, intense obedience, intense dread, intense effort”⁽¹⁾ And he inculcated other virtues taken from the “*Buddhist Dharm.*” In his old age, Ashoke suffered from mental weakness which led to his indulging in extravagances which necessitated the intervention of his ministers; and latterly it became necessary to appoint a Prince-Regent to carry on the administration. It appears that a few years before his death, he was a witness to the current of reaction against his protection of Buddhism to the detriment of other communities, in which his own wife took part.²

There are no historical data to fix the date of Ashoke's death which is said to have occurred at Taxila in 232, 226⁽³⁾ or 223 B.C. Of his consorts Karuvaki and Asadhi-Mitra, the latter—who appears to have been his favourite wife for many years—died, leaving a son Kunal, whereupon Ashoke married a young ill-natured woman named Tishyarakshit whom he raised to the dignity of Queen⁽⁴⁾ but who became hostile to Buddhism and unsuccessfully tried to destroy its chief emblem—the Bodhi tree at Gaya by means of incantations.⁽⁴⁾ She fell in love with her own step-son Kunal, whose beautiful eyes aroused in her a violent passion for him, which, however, he a devout Buddhist, indignantly repulsed. It sufficed to turn her love to hate and she conspired with the King's courtiers to take his life. Kunal escaped death but only after his eyes had been put out. He wandered about, and when the King learnt the truth he was so enraged that he had her burnt

(1) *Pillar Edict*—I.

(2) Havell (E. B.) “*The History of Aryan Rule in India* 102.

(3) *Mahavans*, (Colombo Ed. 1889) 124;

Ashoke married her three or four years after the death of his favourite wife Asandhimitta.

(4) *Divyavadan* (Camb. 1886) 397.

alive and all her co-conspirators similarly punished. In 225 B.C. Ashoke became an ascetic, issued the Rupnath and Sasseram edicts, and two years later died.⁽¹⁾ He was succeeded by his sons, one of whom, Jalauk, who appears to have ruled from Kashmere, reversed his father's policy and, being an ardent Shivite, expelled the Buddhists from the valley. The varying fortunes of Buddhism were once more brought to a head in the reign of the Shakya King—Kanishk, whose rule extended over Northern India and the adjoining countries. His authority appears also to have had its nucleus in Kashmir, but it extended to both sides of the Himalayas from Yarkand and Khokand to Agra and Sind. The seat of his Central Government was Purushpur (now Peshawar), where he erected imposing buildings, though he became known as the King of Gandhar.

He convened the fourth and last of the Buddhist Councils in 40 A.D. to once more settle the disputed questions of Buddhist faith and practice. The decrees of the Council took the form of authorised commentaries on the canon, which were engraved on copper-plates, enclosed in a stone-coffer and deposited for safety in a stup, erected for the purpose at the capital of Kashmir where the Council met. Only delegates from the Northern church—the Mahayan, the greater vehicle, were admitted to this Council, being the cult that had gained ascendancy in his time; the Hinayan or the lesser vehicle which represented the orthodox church was wholly ignored.

This Council was held under Parsva and Vasumitra. It was attended by five hundred monks who composed three Sanskrit works of the nature of commentaries ⁽²⁾ on the three Pali *Pitaks*. These were the earliest books of the Mahayan or Great vehicle of the Northern School which developed its doctrine on the Indus; while the Pali canon of the South represented the older doctrine formulated on the Ganges. Kashmir had always been noted for its Sanskrit learning and Kanishk, its patron, lent

(1) Cunningham...*Corpus Inscriptionem Indicarum* (1877) p. vii: Ashoke remarried 228, she attempts to destroy the Bodhi tree—Ashoke becomes an ascetic 225, issues Rupnath and Sasseram edicts; and dies 223 B.C. succeeded by Dasarath;

hi: cave inscription 21A.

(2) V. Smith in his *History of India*, 134, states the facts exactly in the reverse order. He says the Council was composed solely of the Hinayan.

his weight to the Northern school, as Ashoke had lent it to the Southern school. Hence in process of time, scriptures of the Northern school began to be composed in Sanskrit, with an inter-mixture of Gathas or Stanzas in an irregular dialect—half Sanskrit, half Prakrit : of these, the nine Nepalese canonical scriptures dealt with the following subjects :⁽¹⁾

- (1) *Prajna Paramita*—(Transcendental knowledge, or an abstract of metaphysical and mystic philosophy).
- (2) *Gand Vyntha*.
- (3) *Das Bhumeswar*—(Describes the ten stages leading to Buddhhood).
- (4) *Samadhi Raja*—(Meditation).
- (5) *Lankavatar*.
- (6) *Saddharm pundrika* (Lotus of the true law).
- (7) *Tantra gata guhyak* (the secret Tantric doctrine).
- (8) *Lalit Vistar*.—"Life Beautiful" giving a legendary life of Buddh).
- (9) *Suvarna Prabhas*.

The widening gulf between the two schools, which had been growing ever since the assemblage of the first Council, had by now become too wide to permit of a reapproachment. And the exclusion of the one sect in the fourth Council made all hopes of reconciliation impossible. In fact, there was no attempt in that direction since Kanishk took note of the fact as he found it ; and with his sympathies on the side of his own school, inspite of his position as King of Gandhar, he was not the person best fitted to act as a mediator. Moreover, the schism that had grown between the Northern and the Southern school, though it had originated in a difference of practice, had by now widened into a difference of tenets.

Within twenty seven years of the meeting of the fourth Council, another school sprang out of the Northern school—the Buddhist Canon of China (67-1285 A.D.) which followed an

(1) *Upadesh*—Exhortations ;
Vinay Bibhasha—explanation of the

Vinay or doctrine ; and *Abhidharm Vibhasha*—
Commentary on *Abhidharm*.

independent line of its own and re-settled the tenets in its own way; and thus out of the Orthodox Church there sprung up three independent schools, each differing from the other upon matters of doctrine and practice. That these divergences became inevitable and were to some extent forced upon them by causes not only explains their history but also the tenets to which they stood committed and which must first be set out. Buddha had taught his disciples to practise virtue, the merit of which lay in Nirvan. He had pledged them to live the life of abject penury. His disciples had accepted his creed without question. His sublime doctrine of selflessness was illustrated by the example of his own life. But as soon as he died, the touch of his magnetism was removed; his disciples were unable to resist the allurements of wealth. They also felt the growing pressure of other religions, the hostility of which towards the new faith had only been suspended, but was not vanquished.

In his enthusiasm for the new creed, Ashoke had given the new religion a stimulus—the effect of which transcended the confines of his own Empire. He had despatched missions in all directions, and the advent of Alexander with his philosophic Court had carried the elements of his doctrine to the distant academies of Alexandria and Palestine⁽¹⁾. These missionaries had learnt as much as they had taught. They were everywhere met with queries about the eternal questions of God and the future life. They were told of the existence of Elysium fields, to which the souls of holy men returned to enjoy eternal life. They had been told that the incentive held out by Buddhism was inadequate to the sacrifice required. Nearer home, the revival of Hinduism was disconcerting the peoples' minds. It only needed a leader, and one was soon found in the person of Purushmitra.

It appears that the great Empire which Ashoke had built up and which he left as a heritage to Buddhism was soon dismembered by internal commotion and external aggression. Only forty or fifty years after Ashoke's death, the Punjab

(1) Hunter's *Indian Empire*, 195.

was brought under the foreign rule of the Bactrian King Demetrius, who styled himself as "King of the Indians." His invasion flung open the frontiers of India to other invaders, of whom two Greeks, Pantaleon and Agathokles, have left a record in their coins, struck to mark their rule over the land of the five rivers. A still more intrepid race attempted to seize the kingdom of India. In about 175 B.C. Menander advanced with a strong force and, after annexing the Kingdoms of Kabul and the Punjab, was about to penetrate the interior of India when his victorious march was arrested by Purushmitra, the commander-in-chief of Brihadrath, the last of the Mayur (Maurya) Kings to rule over the kingdom of Magadh. He gave the Greek adventurer battle, defeated him and himself usurped the country, of which he proclaimed himself the King. He extended his victorious march right down to the Indus delta of Saurashtra (Kathiawar), penetrated into the holy city of Mathura on the Jamna, besieged Madhgamika (now Nagari, near Chitor in Rajputana), invested Saketa in southern Oudh and threatened, if he did not actually take, Pataliputra (Patna)—the capital of old-time Magadh. Purushmitra belonged to the Sunga clan and thus became the founder of the Sunga dynasty which is said to have lasted for 112 years until 73 B.C.

In Purushmitra the idol worshippers found a powerful leader. He gave to Hinduism the same impetus which Ashoke had given to Buddhism. Purushmitra attacked Buddhism with unscrupulous virulence and it is said, he made it his business to burn down a multitude of monasteries, carrying his ravages as far north as Jalandhar. Purushmitra may have been an Iranian fire-worshipper, but he was reckoned a Hindu and on behalf of Hinduism he carried on a relentless crusade against Buddhism, and to celebrate his triumph, he performed the Vedic horse-sacrifice (*Ashwamedh*)(¹) to mark his success as an all-conquering King of Kings.

Alongside of the revival of this orthodoxy, India was being transformed by the influence of the Greek invader.

(¹) See Glossary.

The coins of Kanishk were engraved in a form of Greek characters and they bore upon them the impress of the strange admixture of Greek and Indian gods, and they mark the Hellenic influence which had blended with and transformed the beliefs of the Buddhist Kings. Moreover, for at least a hundred years ⁽¹⁾, if not more, the Greek Kings were rulers and, though they became Hinduised more than the Hindu princes became Hellenized, there can be scarcely any doubt that—while the older religions stood aloof, the religion of Buddha was faced with problems, the solution of which was found by Kanishk ⁽²⁾ and his successors in the concessions, which brought the two faiths to a closer point of contact. But it must be remembered that at this time the Greek thought was in its decline; and consequently the Hellenic influence upon Indian speculation was not sufficient to destroy its individuality. But its influence was nevertheless there; and can be read not only in the coins but in the drama ⁽³⁾ and the fine Arts,—as witness the remarkable local school of Græco-Buddhist sculpture in the Gandhar frontier province, where it is reflected in the interior, and which even determined the type of Chinese and Japanese Buddhist images. This influence was never on the wane, and though the Greeks became completely Hinduised and became merged in the rest of the population, their influence became even more marked during the ascendancy of the Guptas (320-480 A.D.)—to which the coins of their reign, still extant, vividly testify.

Nor was this all. The Empire of Buddhism was in the reign of Ashoke the extent of his own Empire. But while the latter shrank with his death, the former had already transcended its geographical limits. It had converted Ceylon; and its sphere of influence had been extended to the kingdoms on the shores of the Mediterranean and Caspian seas ⁽⁴⁾ and to the whole of Asia Minor where, it is said to have created a religious ferment; and which had probably extended

(1) From 208 B.C. to 58 B.C. See V. Smith—*History of India* 145, 146.

(2) Who in the Ara Inscription described himself as Caesar.

(3) Windisch points out the main

striking resemblances in form between the classical Indian dramas and the plays of the school of Menander.

(4) Kirghiz carried it there—Hunter's *Indian Empire* 194, 195.

even up to the banks of the Tiber and to the very heart of the celestial Empire. Three missions were certainly sent to the Roman emperors in A.D. 336, 361 and 530, while long before then (200 B.C.) the gospel of Peace had become established in Central Asia and China, which sent pilgrims like Fa-Hian (399 A.D.) and Hiuen Tsiang' (629 A.D.) to collect the canon and pay their reverence to the hallowed ground in which Buddha had preached his doctrine. At this distance of time, it is difficult to say what was the degree of these extraneous influences; though judging from the coinage, it may be safely presumed that when the coin "Dinar" becomes "Denarius" to denote a gold coin, the relation between the two countries must have been more intimate than can be asserted as a historical fact.

The combined impact of these ideas gave the Northern school its individuality which became hardened with the efflux of time. According to the tenets of the Southern School, Buddha was no more than a man; and when he died, he only survived, as he had himself said it, in the Law. His whole teaching excluded the necessity of a vain search for God or of the possibility of securing salvation through the favour of a mediator. And as regards monks, they understood the Master to have allowed them no room for repentance and return to their former status, after they had been once expelled from the Sangh for any transgression. On all these points the Northern school joined issue. They denied that the dead Teacher did not continue to be a living Saviour, to whom prayers might be offered and whose worship was enjoined and whose intervention sought, through the medium of Bodhisatvas and other beings, acting as mediators between him and the sinful men. The apotheosis of Buddha led to the overthrow of the old doctrine of Nirvan, and the place which it had hitherto occupied in the Buddhistic cosmogony. In the matter of ritual they favoured indulgences for out-casted monks.

Other developments followed. The older school, whose doctrines are expressed in the engravings at Sanchi and

Bharhut, dared not depict the image of Buddha, lest it should savour of idolatry. When the scene depicted required his presence, they merely indicated it by a symbol, an empty seat, or pair of foot-prints. But with the revolt of the Northerners, these puritan ideas led to the swing of the pendulum, and the revolt and the reform in sculptural designs, due to Hellenic influences, led to the wildest imagery—in which every incident in Gautam's life as Bodhisattva in heaven and here, was depicted; and his image in endless forms and replicas became the principal element in Buddhist sculpture.

This vivid portraiture was intended to popularize the creed with the rustic and the dull-witted mountaineer, while its ethical transformation was probably influenced at one time by the combined pressure of the Brahman and the Hellenic paganism, while at a later period nascent Christianity met full-grown Buddhism in the academies and markets of Asia and Egypt, where both religions were exposed to the influences of surrounding paganism in many forms and in the countless works of art which gave expression to the ideas of polytheism. The ancient religion of Persia contributed to the ferment of human thought, excited by improved facilities for international communication and by the incessant clash of rival civilizations.

The Brahmans had always been a non-proselytizing, exclusive system, limited to those who were born and brought up therein. Those who went outside its narrow confines were free to do so; but they were then not free to return. Brahmanism, consequently, never expanded beyond the believers which it had counted as falling within the pale of its caste. Buddhism, on the other hand, had burst the bonds of its limited frontiers almost within a few years of its birth. And in only two or three centuries, it had forced its way along the busy caravan tracks through Persia or Afghanistan or by the sea-route along the Persian Gulf; while the philosophers and scientists, who accompanied Alexander, had returned taking with them all that was to be known about the religions and philosophy of India. It thus furnished to the West, equally

with its religion, its ideal of the holy life,—with its monks, nuns, relic-worship, bells and rosaries, confessions and indulgences and all the detailed liturgy and ritual which is now the accepted canon of Christianity.

But while Buddhism was thus extending its conquest both in the East and the West, a reaction seems to have set in against its further growth in the land of its birth. It appears to have attained its zenith of power during the reign of Ashoke. Thereafter, it suffered recurring vicissitudes, varying with the fortunes of its political patrons; and we have the testimony of the historians who chronicled Alexander's exploits and of the Greek ambassador, Megasthenes, who succeeded them (300 B.C.) in their literary labours,—that Brahmanism was then the predominant religion; and for the intervals when it was eclipsed by Buddhism, Brahmanism continued to maintain its influence generally, though in the process of time it was greatly leavened by Buddhism which it finally absorbed in the seventh century. But in the meantime it had expanded to, and consolidated its position in the rest of inhabited Asia. It has already been stated that it had penetrated China as early as 200 B.C.; Korea (372 A.D.), Java (400 A.D.), Japan (532 A.D.) and Siam (638 A.D.), while it took Tibet and Central Asia, as they lay along its regular route to China; and a few centuries later Buddh was recognized as a Christian martyr and his name inscribed in the Christian martyrology and the 27th day of November was held sacred to him. St. John of Damascus wrote an account of his martyrdom in Greek in the eighth century, an Arabic translation of whose work, dated the eleventh century, still survives. By the twelfth century the life of "Barlaam and Josaphat" had already reached western Europe in a Latin form."

During the first half of the thirteenth century, Vincent de Beauvais inserted it in his *Speculum Historiale*; and a few years later, it found a place in the Golden Legend of Jacques de Voragine. Meanwhile, it had also been popularized by the Troubadour Guy de Cambrai. From this double source,—the Golden Legend of the Church, and the French poem of the people,

the story of Barlaam and Josaphat spread throughout Europe,—German, Provencal, Italian, Spanish, English and Norse versions carrying it from the Southern extremity of the continent to Sweden and Iceland. In 1583, at the end of the saints for the 27th November, the Roman Martyrology contained the following note in Latin: "Among the Indians who border on Persia, Saints Barlaam and Josaphat, (are to be commemorated) whose wonderful works have been written by St. John of Damascus⁽¹⁾."

Such was then the advance of Buddhism in the two continents. But in India—the land of its birth, Buddhism appears to have maintained a steady struggle for supremacy, of which a vivid account is given by the two Chinese pilgrims ⁽²⁾ who visited India in the fifth and seventh centuries. The earlier of the two, Fa-Hian (399-413 A.D.), entered India through Afghanistan and journeyed down the whole Gangetic valley to the Bay of Bengal. Of them it is written: "Never did more devoted pilgrims leave their native country to encounter the perils of travel in foreign and distant lands; never did disciples more ardently desire to gaze on the sacred vestiges of their religion; never did men endure greater than those simple-minded earnest Buddhist priests." Hiuen Tsiang (629-645 A.D.),—a still greater pilgrim, also entered India by the Central Asian route and has left a fuller record of the state of the two religions as he found them in his wanderings throughout India, describing the two religions as eagerly competing for the suffrages of the people. At this time Brahmanism was, indeed, striving to rear its head at the expense of Buddhism, which, however, was still firmly established from the Himalyas to the Narbada, and from the Punjab to the North-eastern Bengal. Here he found one hundred Buddhist convents and ten thousand monks. While the whole country was ruled by Shiladitya, the powerful Buddhist King, who was equally tolerant of Hinduism and protected their two hundred temples.

Shiladitya emulated the example of Ashoke and following his example he convened a general Council in 634 A.D.; but

(1) *Hunter's Indian Empire*—196, 197.

(2) A third Sang Yun, started about

518 A.D., but appears to have returned from Peshawar.

unlike the previous Councils, the object of this Council was neither to concert plans for the consolidation of Buddhism, nor to settle its disputed points—of tenets or practice. It was a general Council and not a Buddhist council, to which Brahmans and Buddhists had been equally invited, as were his twenty-seven tributary princes who were present. At this Council Shiladitya held a general debate between Brahmans on the one hand, and Buddhists of the two Orders on the other, and to mark his impartiality, he installed a statue of Buddha on the first day, and on the second, an image of the Sun-god. Mitra, and on the third day, an idol of Shiv. The work of the Council was more spectacular than real; and at its conclusion, Shiladitya held a great sacrificial feast (*Yajna*) at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamna at Allahabad, where he distributed his royal treasures, as was his wont every five years, and made the Brahmans and Buddhists and even the heretics equal participants of his bounty. At the end of the festival which lasted seventy-five days, he stripped off his jewels and royal raiment, handed them to the by-standers, and like Buddha of old, put on the rags of a beggar. By this ceremony he commemorated the Great Renunciation of the founder of Buddhism. At the same time he discharged the highest duty, inculcated alike by the Buddhist and Brahmanical religions, *vice versa* namely alms-giving.

The last notable patron of Buddhism was the famous King Harsh (588-647 A.D.), who ruled for nearly forty-one years till his death (606-647 A.D.) and had once more brought the whole of India from Delhi to the Bay of Bengal under one Empire. He emulated the example of Ashoke, forbade the slaughter of animals for food, planted trees, patronized the great monasteries of Nalanḍ, and judging from the account of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, he ruled over his kingdom justly. In 643 A.D. he convened a council as Shiladitya had done seven years before, and inaugurated it, as Shiladitya had done, by unveiling the image of Buddha with the highest honours, after which the effigies of the Sun-god (Mitra) and Shiv were worshipped with reduced ceremonials. He distributed all his treasures and died in 646 or 647, leaving his kingdom in a state

of utter disorder ; his kingdom fell an easy prey to the machinations of his minister, resulting in its disruption into smaller kingdoms, most of which were short-lived, till the country once more assumed the semblance of temporary unity under the rule of another famous king Bhoj (840-890 A.D.), a Parihar Rajput of Kanauj. He was, however, a devoted worshipper of Vishnu and does not appear to have molested or assisted the Buddhists.

A zealous parton of Buddhism was, however, found a century later in Dharmapal, the virtual founder of the Pal dynasty who assumed the kingship of Bengal ; who ruled it for a period of twenty years (875-895 A.D.) and founded the Vikramshila at Patharghata in the Bhagalpur district ; but his Buddhism was only a corrupt form of the Mahayan doctrine and scarcely distinguishable from Hinduism.

Hiuen Tsiang travelled all over India from the Punjab to the mouth of the Ganges and down South to Madras. He found everywhere the two religions mingled, except in southern India where the newer faith still held its ascendancy. But the two religions, though seemingly commingled, were in reality in the death-grip of each other. Buddhism had already lost much of its vitality by its disruption into rival sects and warring Orders. Its transformation in the north had considerably weakened its individuality. Its stern unbending rationalism, however attractive to the mind, was cold and frigid when the mind was warmed by emotion. Its boundless altruism, however pleasing to the moralist, could not easily subdue the fundamental instinct of mankind. Its obscure monotheism, undefined or undefinable, stood pale and dumb before the dazzling impersonations of the Brahm of an older and more venerable faith.

Its conception of Nirvan, as its concept of God, was little distinguishable from annihilation and atheism to the popular mind. The fact is that a strictly logical system can never take the place of a popular religion. And when the fire that was kindled by the founder, had produced the white heat of enthusiasm in his devotees and become wide-spread, it lost its pristine glow, while the corruption that had set in, weakened

its defensive forces against a faith, the bold outline of which impressed alike the credulity and the superstitious instincts of the simple people. And other causes intervened.

About 750 A.D. there arose a Brahman preacher in Bengal, Kumaril Bhatt by name, who once more fired the imagination of the people by calling upon them to return to their ancestral faith. He held before them the picture of a personal God—the God of their fathers, which touched their conservative instincts. The preacher's return was opportune to the cause of Hinduism. A wave of reaction had already set in; and it was fanned by the unscrupulous brutality of the ruling potentates. It is said that edged on by the religious preacher Sudhanwan, a prince in southern India "commanded the slaughter of all old men and children of the Buddhists from the Bridge of Ram ⁽¹⁾ to the snowy mountain: let him who slays not, be slain."⁽²⁾ Sudhanwan's authority did not extend so far; but it is an exaggeration which overlay an undoubted fact.

The activities of Kumaril were supplemented by Shankaracharya, another preacher of orthodoxy. He did for the South what Kumaril Bhatt had been doing for the North, and led by their example the lesser Brahmans throughout India raised a similar cry for the suppression of Buddhism by the wholesale slaughter of its followers. They even fired the imagination of the princes by reminding them of the prophecy—that the tenth incarnation of Vishnu was to descend with flaming sword in hand to destroy the lying faith. ⁽³⁾ This challenge was taken up in grim earnest by all religious reactionaries who conspired to serve the cause of "Dharm" by helping to expel the new-fangled faith. There was a national revival of Sanatan Dharm ⁽⁴⁾ and the princes and peasants once more rallied to the cry; and in this great wave of fanatical zeal, Buddhism as such was swept out of the land. This was about 1000 A.D. But it continued to linger in the cradle of its birth down to 1199 A.D. when Bakhtiar Khilji overthrew the last of the Pal Rajas of Magadh.

⁽¹⁾ The ridge of reefs between India and Ceylon.

⁽²⁾ Quoted by H.H. Wilson—Two Essays, 360. Colcbrook's Essays—190.

⁽³⁾ See ante. P. 183.

⁽⁴⁾ Sk. "Sanatan"—Primeval, ancient, Dharm—religion. "The ancient faith."

It has been stated before that Hinduism drove out Buddhism from India. But the means it employed were only locally and partially forcible. In the eleventh century when Buddhism became an exile from its mother-land, India had already become politically dismembered into its several smaller states, and it is possible, Buddhism lost its hold on the people, because of the superior spectacular attractions of Hinduism with their numerous gods and goddesses and the intimate association of the Brahmins with the people. It is also clear that Hinduism absorbed some of the tenets of Buddhism, though the repulsion of the former to human equality and the removal of disabilities of women, must have appealed to the innate instincts of the people whose class and race prejudice could not be permanently overcome by the higher ethics of a great religion. Nor could their love of the past, with the easier means of securing salvation by sacrifices and penance practised without renunciation of the family, be easily abandoned in favour of a doctrine, the complexity of whose philosophy and the doubtful bliss of whose Nirvan offered no superior attraction to the mechanical performance of a worship and the acquisition of a prize—which captured their sensuous imagination. And, above all, the generality of men could not reconcile themselves to the dismal fate of living without a soul and without even a body which they could call their own, and when death came, the prospect of being born again a pig or a toad according to the grim law of Fate—did not satisfy their yearnings to meet again their beloved relations and friends, from whom they had parted and for whose company they longed as a reparation of the bereavements of the present life.

In the countries to which Buddhism had migrated and where it still flourishes, the people had really no organized religion of their own. But Buddhism made no headway in Asia Minor or further west, where other religions came into conflict with its morbid pessimism. And in India itself, the fact is that the fire which the teachings of Buddha had lighted, became dimmed by the sloth and indulgence of the monks who found the irksome monastic life levying too heavy a toll upon their faith, which became seriously shaken by the growth and development of the

Northern school. The old monasteries of the new Order became occupied by the hierophants of the older faith which, in places, tried to reconcile the old with the new, as witness, the monastery observance of no caste—is still being observed ; but otherwise the place had been altered to the worship of a Hindu god. Jainism, which had run an unequal race with Buddhism, readily absorbed what remained of it after its citadel had been stormed, and its inmates capitulated to their old masters.

It is still a question in religious causerie whether Buddhism will ever regain its lost footing. The fact appears to be that with the wider study of its vast and varied literature and the compendious synthesis of its tenets, it might once more draw to its fold the literate ; but the prospects of Buddhism ever becoming a national religion in India are to-day the most remote and uncertain. Buddha had himself prophesied for it a life no longer than 500 years. That it has outlived that period many times over is nevertheless a token of its innate vitality. But it is not likely to obtain another Ashoke, nor does the political history of the country point to that end. With a religious neutrality professed by its present masters and the advent and the growing competition of other and younger creeds, the happening of such a contingency is a chimera and an idle dream.

As it is, Buddhism in India (including Burma) numbers only about 5 p.c. of the Hindu population among its adherents, most of whom are resident in Burmah, besides which, a number of them are resident of the Eastern Himalayas and the Northern tracts of Kashmir bordering on Tibet, while it is still the state-religion of the small Sikkim state. Their numerical strength all told, is over 10 millions; 11,571,000 persons having returned themselves as belonging to that faith, ⁽¹⁾ while the number of Jains was about a tenth of them, being only 178,596. But at the same time a large number of other reforming sects—such as Sikhs and Brahmos have sprung up which carry on an internecine conflict with Hinduism and whose population denudes Hinduism of its numbers, as Christianity and Mahomedanism are doing from without. These two new religions are running with

(1) (1921) *I Census Report (Pt. I)*, §. 85, P. 110.

Hinduism an unequal race ; for, while Hinduism is a non-prose-lytizing creed and can make no converts, both Mahomedanism and Christianity are missionary religions and are making serious inroads upon the venerable faith. They numbered at the last census about 67 millions and 47 millions respectively, while the Sikhs stood only second to them, being over 32 millions.

There is a growing national revival in the country, as indeed in China ; and in both countries the educated middle classes are trying to hurl back the tide of western materialism and revive the faith, the exalted ethics of which is its chief attraction.

But though Buddhism was thus sent into exile, its influence over India never ceased ; and with the noble spirit of self-sacrifice and charity, which it breathed into Hinduism, as it later did into Christianity, it bequeathed to both many of its institutions unimpaired, together with its scheme of religious life, and the material fabric of its worship.

It is curious that the Aryan mind which reached the sublime heights of human speculation should have discarded its application to religion in favour of an anthropomorphic system which readily found currency amongst its people. On the other hand, the tenets of Buddhism, discarded by the Aryan mind, have become the prized heritage of the Mongolian race. Even Ceylon which preserves the original casket of the Buddhist creed is Dravidian. It would seem as if the Aryan mind, inured to patriarchal sway, could not reconcile its predilection for patriarchal hierarchy with its philosophic doubt as to its ultimate reality. In any case, it is a singular coincidence that while the Brahmanical India and the Christian Europe have both discarded the essence of the doctrine, they have both assimilated its ritual to their divergent systems, shewing once more how much the purity of a creed is affected by the medium through which it has to filter, and that religion is in the end more a child of mass consciousness than the faithful popularization of the message of the Messiah.

So far as Hinduism itself is concerned, Buddhism did not leave it until it had impressed upon it its own imprint of indivi-



(8) Indian Museum Relief from Yusufzai with Buddha's coffin.

duality. The fact is that when Buddhism was banished from India, there was nothing to banish, since all its dogmas and its doctrines had already become absorbed into Hinduism; while, apart from that heritage, it had still left behind Jainism as a distinct religion, and Buddhism was to Jainism what protestant Christianity afterwards became to Roman Catholicism.

The history of Jainism will be given later. For the present it will suffice to state that out of the ashes of Buddhism in India, several cults and sects have since come into existence to reform Hinduism, while a movement is on foot to revive the glories of Buddhism by its re-introduction in the land where it held sway for no less than 1,600 years and where its beneficent influence still survives behind the tenuous veil of Hinduism.

Outside the borders of India, the two schools were formed and became the basis for its further development. The northern countries, such as Nepal, Tibet, China, Manchuria, Mongolia, Korea and Japan—follow the authority of the Mahayan school; while the southern countries, such as Ceylon, Burmah and Siam preferably follow the Hinyan school.

It will be observed that the three things which entered into the earlier conception of Buddhism were Buddha himself, his law or precepts and his Sangh or the congregation of his monks. This accidental trinity suggested to the Buddhist its connection with the Vedic triad of gods, Agni (Fire) Indra (Thunder) and Surya (the Sun) for which was substituted the later Trinity of Hindu Gods, Brahm (the Creator), Vishnu (the Preserver) and Shiv (the Destroyer). These in turn were said to possess three material counter-parts, being the *gunas*, qualities or constituents of the material universe, namely, *Sattv* ⁽¹⁾, *Rajas* ⁽²⁾ and *Tamas* ⁽³⁾; and these again ended in the triple name of Brahma-Sacchidanand ⁽⁴⁾. Following the analogy of the Hindu Trinity, the first development of Buddhist symbolism was the personification of their three kings into a personified triad which they regarded as emblems of the

(1) Sk. *Sattv*.—truth—endowed with the quality of truth.

(2) Sk. *Rajas*.—the quality of passion.

(3) Sk. *Tamas*.—the quality of darkness.

(4) 'Sat'—Existent; 'Chit'—Conscious; 'Anand'—bliss; the Unity of Being, Consciousness and Bliss.

following—(1) the Buddh—that is Gautam Buddh typifying the present world ; (2) His Law or Dharm—that is, his doctrine personified, incarnated and manifested in a visible form after his Parinirvan—converting Buddh's figure of speech regarding himself—viz., that he will live in the Law into a visible embodiment of his idea. It must have been suggested by the Vedic theory of *Avatar* or reincarnation of the Deity. (3) His Sangh or Order of monks also personified or embodied in a kind of ideal personification or collective unity of his three disciples.

These three personifications were the first approach towards theistic Buddhism and were commonly known as the first Buddhist Triad, which became the form of invocation and the ritual for conversion ; it had to be repeated three times. They were the three in one and the one in three—"the three honoured ones" or "the three precious ones" or the "three holies".

It was represented by a rod with three prongs in imitation of the Vishnu's Trident. (1) It was the first stage in the introduction of idolatrous worship which was soon followed up by the supposed, real, or allegorical images of Buddh as the embodiment of law. They took the form of a man with four arms and hands, two of which are folded in worship, while one holds the book (or sometimes a lotus) and the other a rosary. In some, however, there is no rosary.

The Sangh was also depicted by the image of a man with only two hands, with one hand resting on the knee and the other holding a book : the three together constitute a Trinity.

Its later development was only natural. Surrounded as Buddhism was with Paganism on all sides and, finding as it did, that Paganism was the religion of the West, which the fugitive Greeks in the decadence of their race imported into India, Buddhism could not long withstand the force of this dual impact. Moreover, it soon found that the man at large always was and will ever remain pagan in his belief, and idolatrous in his worship. As in his sickness and sorrow he wants a living comforter, so in his aspirations of life and in his sickness and pain, he needs the comfort of a visible entity.

(1) Sk. *Trishule*—"Three-pronged."

He finds no comfort in a mere abstraction. These cravings of the mind soon found outward expression in the multiplication of images, in the deification of Buddha and in the necessary and consequential powers of evil. It became the first radiating point in the Mahayan doctrine.

Thus having provided themselves with a god it next became necessary to provide themselves with a heaven and the means of getting there: in other words, a redeemer. This double object was gained by the necessary variations in the interpretation of the term "Bodhisatv"⁽¹⁾—a term which needs to be explained. According to the Buddhist religion, a person cannot become a Buddha until he first attains the rank of a Bodhisatv, who is consequently a "Buddh to be," one who has by his purity and perfection attained such high rank and privileged position that at his next birth he is destined to be born a Buddha and thereafter enjoy "Parinirvan" or cessation from further births and death, and the supreme bliss of eternal absorption in the spirit. Before his final birth, a Bodhisatv is merely a being in whom true knowledge is rather latent and undeveloped than perfected or manifest. It is the state which man attains after countless incarnations and when he has accumulated sufficient merit to enter the hierarchy of future Buddhas.

As such, Buddha had been a Bodhisatv in the Tushit heaven.⁽²⁾ And when in the fulness of time he decided to be born as Buddha, he transferred his own Bodhisatvship to "Maitreya, ⁽³⁾ the loving and compassionate one" who became the Buddha-elect, dwelling and presiding as his predecessor had done in the Tushit (Tushit) heaven—the heaven of contentment, and as the Buddha to be, he is interested in the progress of his people in this world. Now in the Buddhist cosmogony there are several such Bodhisatvas who are born as Buddhas—Gautam himself was the twenty-fifth such Buddha, and the fourth one to appear in the present age following his three predecessors,

(1) *Bodhi*—knowledge; *Satv*—Self, "Self enlightened knowledge."

(2) *Tushit*—"Contented," "satisfied."—A heaven of satisfied beings.

(3) *Mitra*—"Friend." In the *Vedas*—"Maitreya" is the "Sun-god" who befriended men by imparting to them its own warmth.

Krakuchand, Kanak Muni and Kashyap. There was only one more Buddha to follow Gautam, and he was Maitreya.

This did not give much encouragement to the Bhikkhus and the lay brethren, who were equally anxious to be raised to the degree of Bodhisatvas and who equally aspired to come down one day as Buddhas. The narrow cosmogony of the older church gave such aspirants no encouragement. It gave the Northerners an occasion to supply this want by liberalizing their creed. They effected this by multiplying the Bodhisatvas and by creating a slightly lower rank of heavenly saints whom they called "Pratyek Buddha" and who were persons who had attained perfection for themselves and by themselves alone and not as a member of any monastic order, nor through the teaching of some supreme Buddha. They are far superior to Arhats. Now, since heaven alone can be a fit nursery for these future Buddhas, it became necessary to establish a *nexus* with heaven through Maitreya who was already there. It introduced the worship of Maitreya, who was, however, worshipped by all Buddhists, whether belonging to the Northern or the Southern school. But in the Northern school where he was considered as the mediator and redeemer of man, and one who could ensure man's ascent to Heaven, his worship became a part of the cult, and his companionship, the immediate object human aspiration. For, was he not the favoured of denizen of the best of heavens—the Tusht—the heaven of supreme bliss, where perfect love and contentment reigned supreme and into which he alone was privileged to admit his worshippers?

"No words can describe the personal beauty of Maitreya. He declares a law not different from ours. His exquisite voice is soft and pure. Those who hear it, can never tire; those who listen, are never satisfied." (1) This is how Maitreya appeared to the heavenly sage.

The Mahayan cosmogony then comprised of:—(1) The Supreme Buddha; (2) Maitreya as the Buddha-elect; (3) Bodhisatva whose number was unlimited; (4) Pratyek Buddha. (5) Arhats; (6) Bhikkhus; and (7) lay disciples.

(1) I. Tsai's Records (Tr. of Hsuen Tsang's Travels)

In the Hinyan there was only one Bodhisatv and he was Maitreya—but in the Mahayan the number of Bodhisatvas was unlimited ; in addition to which, they created an attractive saintship for the laity—the Pratyek Buddhs,—both of whom being candidates for the Buddhship, its number had to be enlarged and as the number of the Bodhisatvas was unlimited, so were the Buddhs who may all appear even in the present age of the world. They also paved an easy way to the attainment of Buddhhood by the practice of the six (or ten) transcendental virtues called Paramitas ⁽¹⁾ i.e., virtues which enabled one to cross over to Paradise. They were—

- (1) Generosity or the giving of (*Dan*) charity to all who ask—even the sacrificing of life or limb for others ;
- (2) Virtue or moral conduct (*Shil*) ;
- (3) Patience or tolerance (*Sñanti*) ;
- (4) Fortitude or energy (*Virya*) ;
- (5) Transcendental wisdom (*Prajna-Panna*) ;
- (6) Suppression of desire (*Nishkamnekkhamma*).

To which are added—

- (7) Truth (*Satya*) ;
- (8) Steadfast Resolution (*Adhishtan*) ;
- (9) Good-will or kindness (*Maitreya*) ;
- (10) Absolute indifference or imperturbability or apathy (*Upeksha*).

Of these those numbered (4) to (10) except (9) were added afterwards.

Now since the Bodhisatvas were to be in perpetual residence in heaven till they descended as Buddh, it did not gratify the ambition of those who were looking forward to earthly recognition. The fact is that since the Brahmans had their graded priest-craft, the Buddhist aspired to emulate their example and the Tibetan school lost no time in providing each Bodhisatv in heaven a secondary corporeal emanation—

(1) *Paramit*—crossing (over to the other shore).

sometimes called the incarnations or portions of their essence, in a constant succession of human saints whose number was, of course, equally unlimited. As such, *Lalit Vistar* mentions the presence of 32,000 Bodhisatvas in Buddha's assembly in the Jitvahan garden. This is, of course, a pure fiction, but the fact remains that with the growth of the number of Bhikkhus and the severity of their ordeal, there naturally sprang up into their minds a desire for promotion which manifested itself even at the first Council of Buddha's personal disciples, the chief ones of whom were elevated to the status of Bodhisatvship. They were, of course, the first five disciples and others conspicuous by age or distinguished for piety or learning—such as Kashyap, Anand and Upali Nagarjun who was said to be the founder of the Mahayan system and its introduction into Tibet, to whom were added numerous other persons—real or mythical. But the deification of men, howsoever good, could only raise them to the status of saints, whereas Buddhists of the Mahayan school thirsted for the patronage of a real god—one who had never suffered for his sins to be born a man. It led to the next corrupting stage in this school, marked by the adoption of mythical Bodhisatvas and a new triad of them comprise Manjushri⁽¹⁾, Avalokiteshwar⁽²⁾ (also called Padmapani)⁽³⁾ and Vajra-pani (or Vajradhar—the “thunder-handed”)⁽⁴⁾. This was the second Buddhist triad and its trinity was a colourable copy of the Hindu trinity. It appears that this trinity came into existence sometime in the third century and was worshipped when Fa-hien visited Mathura in 400 A.D.

But while the creation of mythical Bodhisatvas, emulating with the Hindu gods their divine attributes, supplied the want of a personal god responsive to prayer and worship, the canonization of historical teachers, even though non-Buddhists, rallied to the banner of neo-Buddhism even those who had previously treated it with lukewarm indifference. In this way

(1) *Manju*—beautiful, lovely, *Shri*—God, “Beautiful God.”

(2) *Avalokita*—Ava—Favourably, kindly, *lokita*—looking, seeing, *Ishtar*—God—“A God who looks kindly.”

(3) *Padma*—Lotus, *Pani*—hand; “Lotus-

handed.”

(4) *Vajra*—“thunder,” *Pani*—hands, “with thunderbolts for hands” *Dhar*—“to hold,” *Vajradhar*: “One who holds the thunder-bolt.”

Gorakhnath, a Hindu missionary to Nepal, is to this day worshipped both by Buddhists and the Hindus of the Punjab, where his tomb exists to this day. He appears to have been a comparatively modern sage; from one account he is said to have been a contemporary of Kabir (1488-1512), but he has none the less passed into the region of mythology, being, according to one legend, born from a lotus, while other legends elevate him to the rank of a god, who, as such, is still worshipped in the hill-tracts of North-west India.

The multiplication of the Buddhs and the Bodhisatvas was probably intended to meet a growing desire for spiritual promotion, stimulated by the attractions of rival systems which did not consider monastic life as the sole avenue to salvation. It was the one objection which Gopi had raised to Buddh's renunciation ⁽¹⁾ and it was the one impediment to the free growth of the Buddhist faith. The new school liberalized their creed not only by increasing the prizes, but also by widening the door for the admission of the entrants. Asceticism was no longer the sole passport to salvation. On the contrary, the family and the society were held to be a better training-ground for the spiritual life, and married men and married women were urged to enter on the new discipline by taking the vow to toil towards Buddhhood, by practising the virtues of love, sympathy and service which were far more powerful than austerities. It was no longer necessary for the attainment of Bodhisatvism that one should pass through the purifying ordeal of countless births and re-births. The taking of the vow sufficed to transform the lay devotee to a Bodhisatv. It was merely a higher status within one's grasp, reached by the promise to practise a higher virtue. All were enjoined to cultivate a closer attachment and a deeper devotion (*Bhakti*) towards the Buddhs and the Bodhisatvas. The emptiness of life was stated anew in the *Sunyat* ⁽²⁾ philosophy which the Bodhisatvas were enjoined to study. These reforms imparted to the creed a new vigour supplemented by a very large,

(1) See *ante*.

(2) "*Sunya*"—zero, nothing.

varied and attractive literature. The *Sat-Dharm Pundarik* ⁽¹⁾ (i.e., white lotus of the same religion) is one of them and it may be likened to the *Gita* as the scripture of Buddhism.

In making these departures from the orthodox school, the Mahayan school did not formally break away from them; on the other hand, they incorporated their doctrine into their own system. They argued that there were two methods of salvation; in other words, two vehicles to reach the same goal; and two "Bodhis" or forms of knowledge to reach there. These were the Mahayan and the Hinayan—the Great and the Little vehicles or paths to salvation. The one was for ordinary men, the other for those possessing larger talents or higher spiritual powers. For a part of the way the two systems ran parallel; since any one, who possessed the requisite qualifications and answered the prescribed test, became eligible to and obtained the rank of an Arhat. But here the two systems parted company; for, while the "Little way" had many Arhats but only one Bodhisatv and one Buddha, there was no room for further promotion,—which was only possible in the "Great vehicle" with its unlimited Bodhisatvas and Buddhas, the former attainable by any one who took the requisite vow of sanctity and had acquired the requisite knowledge. But this explanation did not suffice to ensure concord between the two systems, which, in point of practice, were inculcating opposing creeds. According to the Hinayan system, Buddha had taught that salvation lay only in the practice of celibacy and chastity. It was not open to one who was content to enjoy the earthly bliss of married life, nor available to one who did not pass to it through the medium of Sangh or the monastic life.

In later years, a compromise was attempted between the two systems by the institution of a third vehicle of salvation called the *Madhyam Yan* ⁽²⁾ or the "Middle Vehicle"; but it does not appear to have lived long enough to have

(1) "*Sat*"—true, "*Dharm*"—religion; "*Pundarik*"—a lotus flower, especially a white lotus.

(2) "*Madhyam*"—"middle,"
"inter-vening",
"*Yan*"—way or vehicle.

gained many adherents in India, though it is still recognized in Tibet as the *Friyan* or the "Third Vehicle".

An intellectual movement has recently arisen, almost spontaneously in several countries, to revive Buddhism, the main principles of which have begun to attract those who are no longer willing to subscribe to the traditional faith in which they were brought up, but who have begun to test its truth in the light of Reason and the deductions from modern Science. This movement has given rise to a new school of Buddhist thought described as the *Narayana* or "New Vehicle", but which is in reality a mere revival of the Hinyan school, restored to its pristine purity. Several causes have contributed to the revival of interest in Buddhism. Its canon preserved in a language, now extinct, has been brought home to the Europeans through the medium of translation, while its study by savants has in many cases driven them from a curiosity to conviction.

Mahabodhi societies for the study and spread of the Dharm have come into existence in several countries, including Germany, France, England and America, while its catechisms have been translated into several European languages and are attracting a wider circle of earnest students.

And to them, as to many others, a religion of Reason possesses attractions compared to which Revelation is an affront. As has been well said, "Buddhism teaches perfect goodness and wisdom without a personal god, the highest knowledge without revelation, a moral world, order and just retribution, carried out of necessity by reason of the laws of nature and of our own being, continued existence without an immortal soul, eternal bliss without a local heaven, the possibility of redemption without a vicarious redeemer, a salvation at which every one is his own saviour, and which can be attained in this life and on this earth by the exercise of one's own faculties, without prayers, sacrifices, penances, or ceremonies, without ordained priests, without the mediation of saints, and without divine grace."⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ *Message of Buddhism*—84.

CHAPTER X.

BUDDHIST MYTHOLOGY.

As previously stated, the geographical development of the new creed led to its doctrinal and ritual variation, and in process of time, the Religion of Reason became so overlaid with the fungus of dogma that the purity of the creed was eclipsed by the fanciful cosmology, which made no pretence to appeal to human reason nor took any account of the limits of human credulity. All the vacant spaces of Buddha's metaphysics were filled to overflowing by the lively imagination of his disciples. They became the fruitful source of scholastic logomachies, resulting in the multiplication of schools and sects which vied with one another in giving currency to new tenets, buttressed by theories which were passed current in the name of the Master. They appealed to the man whose faith rests on the miraculous and on acts of special intervention. They created a new ecclesiastical system with worlds of their own and planned the universe as they would like it. It has given rise to a complicated system of Buddhist mythology, to which a passing reference becomes necessary.

As has already been seen, Buddhism in its inception started with only a few rules of human conduct ; but in process of time, it assumed a complexity and underwent an expansion, both in the sweep of its subjects and the range of its thought, which has been the prolific source of dogmas, maxims and methods of work of which the present value is merely historical, while they will now only interest the curious or the devout. Such is its view of the cosmic system and the categorization of living beings ; the method for the attainment of Nirvan ; of Arhatship and of the status of Bodhisatv and Buddhhood. All these subjects, of course, belong to later Buddhism, and as such have been the subject of acute polemics ; and a considerable portion of the voluminous literature absorbs these topics of mere ritual, so that only a very brief summary of them is here possible, or is indeed necessary.

In the first place, the Buddhist conception of the universe comprises numberless spheres called *chakravals* each with its own earth, sun, moon, heaven and hells⁽¹⁾. Each of the spheres comprises three regions, the highest being that of *Arupe* or formlessness, the middle one being the region of *Rupe* or form divided into four divisions corresponding to the four stages of *Āhyans*, while the lowest is that of *Kam* inhabited by (1) the four Rulers of the cardinal points; (2) the thirty-three gods; (3) the *Yamas*; (4) the *Tushitas*; (5) *Nirwanratis* and (6) *Parinirmis-vashwavartins* and men, *Asuras*, *Pretas*, animals and the hells. Higher in the scale, the *Ruploke* (which, in a wider sense, includes the *Kamloke*) is divided into 16 sections inhabited by the following beings respectively, in the order of descending scale: (1) *Akanittas*; (2) *Suddāsins*; (3) *Suddasas*; (4) *Atappas*; (5) *Avihas*; (6) *Asanutatthas*; (7) *Vehapphals*; (8) *Subhakinns*; (9) *Appamansubhas*; (10) *Parittasubhas*; (11) *Abhassaras*; (12) *Appamanabhas*; (13) *Paritbhas*; (14) *Mahabrahmans*; (15) *Brahmpurohitis*; (16) *Brahmparisajjas*. The abodes of the last three are attained by those who exercise the three degrees of the first *Āhyan* severally, the next three by proficiency in the second *Āhyan*, the next three by adepts in the third *Āhyan*, the next two by those who have attained proficiency in the fourth *Āhyan*, while the remaining five are reserved for the *Anagamins*. These are varied in the *Mahayan* texts where the highest order is assigned to *Akinshthas*, *Sudarshans*, *Sudrashes*, *Atapas* and *Avrhas*; followed by *Vrihatphals*, *Punyaprasavas*, *Anabhrakas*, the third class comprising *Shubhakritshas*, *Apramansubhas* and *Parittasubhas*, the fourth—*Abhasvars*, *Apramanbhas* and *Parittabhas*; while the lowest and the last is made up of *Brahmakayiks*—*Mahabrahmans*, *Brahmpurohitas* and *Brahmaparisadyas*.

The highest region, the *Arupeloke* is divided into four degrees, viz., (1) Place of Infinity of Space, (2) Place of Infinity of Consciousness, (3) Place of Nothingness, (4) Place of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness.

⁽¹⁾ For details see Burnouff Intro. *Manual of Buddhism* i ff; Waddell—599 ff; Childers' *S.V. Sattloks*; Hardy's *Tibetan Buddhism*, 77—104.

The earth itself is described as a sphere in the centre of which stands Mount Meru ⁽¹⁾ around which are the principal mountains (*Kulachals*) and beyond these the four continents, or Mahāvīps—namely, Uttarkuru, the country of the Hyperboreans; Jambudvīp or India which is to the South of Meru; Godaniya or Apar Godana ⁽²⁾ to the West; and Purvavideh ⁽³⁾ to the East.

There are thirty-one abodes of living beings, each equipped with its own heaven and hell; but the principal hells are eight in number and known by the names of Sanjiva, Kalsutra, Sanghat, Raurav, Mahaurav, Tapan, Pratapan and Avisi ⁽⁴⁾. These are the eight hot hells to which the old Mahayans add an equal number of cold hells, viz., Arbud, Nirbud, Atat, Hahu, Huhav, Utpal, Padm and Mahapadm; while in the Pali canon, the number grows by a few more, and in the later Northern canon, the number of hells is still greater.

Above the hells, is placed the animal kingdom or brute creation; above whom is the abode of Prets, ghosts, spectres: while higher than these is the abode of Asurs, demons, conspicuous among the latter being Rahu or the demon of Eclipse.

The hells together with the next three worlds constitute the four *Aphayalokes* or places of suffering.

But the thirty-one worlds above referred to are not all; since, there is still another world in which living beings are graded according to their spiritual merit; but this gradation is merely temporary, since they are liable to elevation or degradation by dint of Karm—the only exceptions made being in the case of (1) Buddhs, (2) Pratyek Buddhs, and (3) the Arhats who are certain of reaching the Parinirvan. These three, therefore, occupy the highest place in this world; and next to them stand the (4) Devas, (5) Brahmas, (6) Gandharvs (the celestial musicians), (7) Garuds (winged beings), (8) Nags (Snake-shaped beings resembling clouds), (9) Yakshas, (10) Kumbhands (goblins), (11) Asurs (demons), (12) Rakahas (giants or monsters), (13)

(1) Also called Sumeru; and in Pali—*Sineru*.

(2) P. *Apara Goyana*.

(3) P. *Pubba-videh*.

(4) For detailed description of these hells see *Anguttar Nikay* (Ed. R. Morris Lond. 1885-1888) 141 ff; *Mahavastu* (Ed. E. Senart Paris I—1882. II—1890) I, 7 ff.

Prets (ghosts, and goblins) and (14) the denizens of hell⁽¹⁾. Nirvan being the final goal of all beings, the canon prescribes the method by which it is attainable. It requires the practice of constant spiritual exercise, meditation and contemplation, following the directions prescribed by the several schools. Overlooking their differences, they all require as a preparatory stage, the cultivation of four *Bhavanas* (1) the cherishing of the sentiments of *Maitri*, (benevolence), (2) *Karuna* (compassion), (3) *Mudita* (cheerfulness) and (4) *Upeksha* (equanimity, composure), to which a fifth *Bhavana* is sometimes added. viz., *Ashubhbhavana* (the realisation of the loathsomeness of the body)⁽²⁾ which comprises ten notions, arising from the contemplation of a dead body: bloated (*Uddhumatak*); blackish (*Vinilak*); festering (*Vipubhak*); fissured from decay (*Vichchidat*); gnawed by animals (*Vikkhayitak*); scattered (*Vikkhittak*); injured and scattered (*Easvikkhitak*); bloody (*Lohitak*); full of worms (*Pulavak*); bones (*Atthik*).

These four *Bhavanas* are the first step to the practice of Yoge. Those who practise them begin to live in the spiritual world (*Brahmavihar*)⁽³⁾. The four *Brahmavihars* and the ten *Ashubhs* are only a part of the forty exercises or *Kammatthans*, (one hundred and eight according to the *Lalit Vistar*)⁽⁴⁾. The next ten operations relate to the ten objects on which the attention at this exercise must be fixed successively: earth, water, fire, air, blue, yellow, red, white, light, and space or ether.

The Mahayans vary the order of contemplation. The forty exercises further include the ten kinds of recollections⁽⁵⁾ or cogitations on the Buddha, the Dharma, the Sangh; morality, renunciation (*tyag*), the gods; death, the body; the control of inspiration and expiration (*anapansmriti*); and quietude.⁽⁶⁾ *Anapansmriti* is a valued *Samadhi* and consists in not only regulating the breath, but also in fixing the mind intensely on one's own breathing, while the mind is fixed on certain set subjects

(1) In *Mahavyutpatti* (St. Petersburg 1887), 166, the order is different.

(2) But in this case *Bhavana* bears a different meaning—viz., conception, realisation—*asubheanna*, or *asubhapratyaveksh*. *Majjhim-Nikay* (Ed. Trenchard. Lond. 1887) 424.

(3) Also *Apraman*, P. *Appamanna*.

(4) 34 ff.

(5) *Anusmriti*; P. *Anussatti*.

(6) *Anguttar Nikay* (Ed. Morris Lond. 1885-1888) 42 *Lalit Vistar* (Ed. R. L. Mitra) 34; *Mahavyutpatti* (St. Petersburg 1887) 51; *Dharm Sangrah* (Oxford 1885) S. Liv. note.

of reflection. It is only by this means that one is able to reach the region of *Arupe* or formlessness belonging to the four incorporeal Brahmlokes;—the place of infinite space ⁽¹⁾, the place of infinity of clear consciousness ⁽²⁾, that of nothingness ⁽³⁾ or the unconsciousness ⁽⁴⁾. The final stage is reached with the cessation of consciousness, when the state of emancipation or deliverance (*Vimoksh*) is reached. These four stages of meditation produce the four stages of ecstasy which Childers has thus described: "The priest concentrates his mind upon a single thought. Gradually his soul becomes filled with a supernatural ecstasy and serenity, while his mind still reasons upon and investigates the subject chosen for contemplation; this is the first Jhan (*Ādhyāna*). Still fixing his thoughts upon the same subject, he then frees his mind from reasoning and investigation, while the ecstasy and serenity remain, and this is the second Jhan. Next, his thoughts still fixed as before, he divests himself of ecstasy, and attains the third Jhan, in which is a state of tranquil serenity. Lastly he passes to the fourth Jhan in which the mind, exalted and purified, is indifferent to all emotions, alike of pleasure and of pain." ⁽⁵⁾ Each of the first three *Ādhyānas* is sub-divided into three degrees, the inferior, the medial and the superior meditation. The attainment of the first *Ādhyāna* gives the power of working miracles. In general, the *Ādhyānas* secure access of the soul to the sixteen corporeal Brahmlokes, the nature of which depends upon the proficiency in the *Ādhyāna*.

The *Yoge* of the Buddhists is little distinguishable from that of the Brahmans. The former, however, refer to it as a thing apart and distinguish *Yoge* from *Samādhi*, of which several are described in the Mahayan canon. But the substratum of the idea, whether *Yoge*, *Ādhyāna*, or *Samādhi*, is the same *viz.*, intense meditation conducive to the production of spiritual ecstasy which results in the attainment of Nirvan. There are stages in spiritual evolution. Those who have reached the fourth and the highest stage of that path are called Arhats. They become possessed of faculties, far superior to those of common

(1) *Akashanantyaayatna*; P. *Akasanan-kayātana*

(2) *Vijñānanantai*.

(3) *Akinchanai*.

(4) *Nāśasāyan*—*nasan*—*Guyātan*.

(5) *Pali Dictionary* 169.

mortals. In the first place, they possess four sorts of comprehension regarding the meaning of a text or subject (*Arth*), the Law (the *Dharm*) ; and all things taught by Buddh ; Exegesis, (*Nirukti*) ; and readiness in discussing and expounding the same.

Arhats are of two kinds, the contemplative philosopher (*Sukhavipasak*) and one devoted to quietude (*Samathayanik*). Their outstanding merit is wisdom (*Prajna*) and it is by wisdom that the Arhat crosses the ocean of Existence. Hence he is called "Prajnavimukta". For his wisdom, the Arhat is also called the Arya ; and he is also called "Shravak" *par excellence* of Buddh ; as also "*Aryashravak*" (an honorific term to denote a wise and pious Believer), though the term "Shravak" was somewhat loosely used to designate any pious believer ⁽¹⁾ and the Mahayanists called the Buddhists of the older school (*Hinyan*) by that name. They classify all Buddhists into three classes, according to the vehicle (*Yan*) they use, and the exercises they go through : (1) the Yan of the Shravaks which is the lowest, (2) the Pratyek Buddh and (3) the Bodhisatv ; but the classification seems really to proceed upon a different line, since while the term Shravak Yan is applied to the Sthavirs or Buddhists of the orthodox school, the second and the third nomenclatures are applied to the solitary contemplative philosophers and the accomplished teachers and preachers respectively. But, since all are on the same path to Nirvan, they are all in one sense equal, though the distinction between the Arhats, Pratyek Buddh and the Buddh is marked in the Mahayan school, in which the Arhat holds a position of marked inferiority to the Pratyek Buddh, while the latter is only inferior to the Buddh in that he is not omniscient like Buddh, and it is in the nature of things that he cannot live at the same time as Buddh.

Higher in the scale of spirituality and nearer to Buddh in qualitative proximity stands the Bodhisatv. He is a Buddh *in posse*, but his faculty has not yet matured into perfect sensibleness (*Samyak-Sambodhi*). He is a potential intelligence

(1) So in *Anguttar Nikay*, 210 the *Arya Shravaks* are exhorted to keep the Sabbath in a worthy manner : here the word can only mean a Believer.

evolved in three stages: (1) that of aspiration (*Abhinihar*); (2) of the prediction (*Vyakaran*) by the Tathagat of the period that the Saint shall once become a Buddh; (3) of the tumultuous acclamation at the approach of his last birth (*Halahal*). In the Mahayan there are four stages in his path: (1) the original course (*prakritikar*); (2) the course of the vow or firm resolution (*Pranidhan*); (3) the course pursued in accordance with the plighted vow (*Anuhom*); and (4) the steadfast course in which there is no turning back (*Anivartan*).⁽¹⁾ A Bodhisatv is only a promoted Arhat, but with this difference that while the Arhat is inactive, the Bodhisatv is active and conspicuous for his high-mindedness and compassionateness. The one is passionless, the other—compassionate. The Bodhisatv possesses ten perfect virtues: alms-giving (*Dan*), Morality (*Sheel*), renunciation (*Nekhamm*), wisdom (*Panna*), energy (*Virya*), forbearance (*Shanti*), truthfulness (*Satya*), charity (*Mett* or *Metti*), and indifference or equanimity (*Upeksha*), each of them being divided into three degrees. But these are moral virtues added to which the Bodhisatv must evince such intellectual qualities as are conducive to enlightenment. It is only by passing through numerous and even innumerable existences, and by living in higher and lower stages that a person can attain the high degree of Bodhisatv, which is the sole avenue for exaltation into Buddhhood. They are 37 in number, but there are qualities which are not special to him, since he shares them equally with Arhats. They fall into seven heads:—

- (1) Four kinds of Smartupastan: presentness of memory, thoughtfulness (1) in regard to the body; (2) to sensation; (3) to rising thoughts; and (4) to Dharm.
- (2) Four kinds of application, e.g., right exertion etc.
- (3) Four kinds of miraculous power.
- (4) Five mental energies.
(*Indriyas*): Faith, energy, memory or thoughtfulness, concentration of mind and wisdom.
- (5) Five mental forces (*Bals*) as in the last, but more powerful.

(1) *Mahavastu*, 1—46 ff.

(6) Seven constituents of Bodhi, to wit: memory, investigation, energy, contentment, calm, concentration of the mind, contemplation, and indifference or equanimity.

(7) Eightfold path of the Arya.

Bodhisatvas enjoy numerous immunities and prerogatives proportionate to their duties. They develop into Buddhs who, as the Supreme Beings in the Buddhist hierarchy, are according to the Mahayan school numerous; each possessing 216 auspicious marks on his feet, 108 on each foot, of which 32 marks he shares with Chakravartis, Arhats and other eminent sages⁽¹⁾. It is the characteristic of all Buddhs that they survey with their Divine eye the world six times every day⁽²⁾. They possess certain special mental qualities, ten forces, eighteen Dharmas and four points of self-confidence (*Vaisharadyas*).

The forces (or *Bals*) are sometimes said to be only four or five or seven, but as many as ten must be found in a Buddh. These ten forces arm them with (1) Knowledge of what is fit or unfit; (2) of the necessary consequence of Karm; (3) of the right path to any end; (4) of the elements; (5) of the inclination of beings; (6) of the relative powers of the organs; (7) of all degrees of meditations and ecstasy; (8) as well as their power to purify and fortify the mind; (9) knowledge of previous births; (10) and a power to remove moral corruption.

Of all Buddhs, Gautam was the Buddh *par excellence* and he was as great in body as he was great in mind; his towering figure having measured 12 cubit, or according to another account 18 cubit; his foot alone measuring more than 5 feet in length and 2½ feet in breadth, of which an imprint (*Shripad*) is left on Adam's peak in Ceylon⁽³⁾. All Buddhs are alike, except that they differ from the Tathagat in size and longevity. Gautam was the twenty-fifth of the race, no less than twenty-four Buddhs having preceded him. The Buddh next to appear as

(1) *Sutta Nipat* (Fausbøll, Lond. 1884) S. B. E. 102; *Brihat Sanhita* Ch. 69.
(2) *Dīpaṇḍan* (Camb.), 95.

(3) Hardy: *Manual of Buddhism* 364 ff; Burnouf: *Le Lotus de la bonne loi* (Paris 1852) 622.

predicated by Gautam himself⁽¹⁾ is Maitreya (*Metteya*) surnamed 'Ajit' who is at present reposing as Bodhisatv in the Tushit heaven.

As an exception to the rule, the Mahayanists speak of five Dhyani Buddhs, who are eternal and were never Bodhisatvas. They have been provided with five consorts. Their names and those of their female counter-parts are as follows :—

Vairochana	Vajradhat Visvri
Akshobhya	Lochana
Ratnasambhav	Mamaki
Amitabha	Pandara
Amoghasiddhi	Tara

The question whether a Buddh is a man or a god is answered by the Northern school in the negative. This question is said to have been put to Gautam himself and answered by him as follows :—

"Once upon a time the Brahman Dona, seeing Tathagat sitting at the foot of a tree asked him—

"Are you a Dev ?"

And the Blessed One answered—"I am not."

"Are you a Gandharv ?" "I am not."

"Are you a Yaksh ?" "I am not."

"Are you a man ?" "I am not."

"Who then are you ?" "I am a Buddh."

Buddh is, therefore, only human in form, but not human in esse⁽²⁾.

(1) *Milinda*—Panho (Lond. 1880) 217.

(2) *Anguttar Nikay*, 11-33.

CHAPTER XI.

RULES OF THE BROTHERHOOD.

The Buddhist liturgy is an important part of the Buddhist religion. When Buddha himself was preaching his gospel, he had divided his converts into two classes—the monks, and the lay followers. The former were to retire from the world, were pledged to life-long celibacy and chastity, a life of abject penury passed in a monastery or an open arbour and one subject to close and rigorous discipline.

The lay brethren were subject to no similar restraint. They were, however, like any other convert, to practise the creed embodied in the well-known formula—"Of all objects which proceed from a cause, the Tathagat has explained the cause, and He has explained their cessation also; this is the doctrine of the great Saman"⁽¹⁾. When Buddha had first launched his doctrine, he did not contemplate the enlistment of lay converts who were, however, from the very first, forced upon him by the pressure of circumstances. But they were not welcome to him. But the fact is, all his most influential patrons and benefactors were laymen. Bimbeshwar, King of Magadh, and his son Ajatshatru, were his lay followers; and so was the King of Koushal; and so indeed were his numerous benefactors, men and women who gave him and his disciples a warm reception, acted as lay evangelists and built for them Vihars (monasteries), sumptuously equipped with lecture-halls and meeting-places. Buddha must have early discovered the impossibility of his tenet as he originally preached it.

His whole life shows him to be readily responsive to public opinions. It is a set phrase in his discourses that he desired his doctrine to bring converts. Where was he to obtain them from, if he had succeeded too well in inducing the husbands to abandon

(¹) *Mahavagga* I—23.5; 13 S.B.E., 146.

their wives, and the wives their husbands, and both to abjure their wordly pursuits and the accumulation of wealth? Where would he get the children to become the boy-pupils, and the boy-pupils to become monks? And whom would the monks have begged for their living and what would become of the world, if all of them were converted to his faith, strictly obeyed his behests and quitted the world to enter Nirvan? And who would then be left to follow his religion? His teaching, if literally followed, would soon have ended in national mendicancy. That it ended in a national cataclysm which wiped out his family and his race, was a small disaster, compared to the awful fate to which his own Order and his Sangh would have been exposed. Insistence upon a perpetual celibacy and ragged penury was good enough for the monks who practised religion, as his Bhikkhus did, to establish the reality of an ideal; but it was a counsel of perfection to the masses; and the masses knew it; and put it to Buddh⁽¹⁾ who was able to return no better answer, beyond venturing the one that he was preaching the gospel of truth⁽²⁾.

But the very truth to which he appealed, postulated the existence of a living world, in which the law of birth and death maintained a succession of lives which offered a field for man's elevation and perfection. How was it possible unless men married and perpetuated their race? Buddh knew that both under the ancient law and by an inveterate usage, people in India married early and that the begetting of a son to continue the family was heightened into a religious duty. He never attacked the system. It is doubtful if he ever even adverted to it. His insistence upon celibacy must then have been relaxed as soon as he gave expression to his doctrine. And the fact—that he went on enlisting lay disciples, shows that he soon became inured to the new phase of his teaching and acquiesced in it, though he did not cease to denounce it. "A wise man should avoid married life⁽³⁾, as if it were a burning pit of live coals." Married life is at times a burning pit of live coals but it is so for other reasons. Life itself would be

(1) *M. V.*, I—25-5, 13 S.B.E. 150.

(2) *M. V.*, I—25-5, 6; 13 S.B.E. 150, 151.

(3) *Abrahma Chariyam*—Non-celibacy,—*Dhammika Sutra*, 21.

reduced to that state, if men never married. It may be that "Full of hindrances is married life, defiled by passion. How can one who dwells at home, live the higher life in all its purity" ⁽¹⁾. The question answers itself—why not?

The fact, however, remains that lay converts did not enter into the Buddhistic system of conversion. And Buddh, therefore, made no provision for their conversion, though in point of practice they had probably to subscribe to the twenty-four syllables of the three refuges ⁽²⁾—namely submission to Buddh (in person), his law (Dharm) and Order (Sangh). But that alone would have over-committed him to his faith, since all the three had enjoined on celibacy and a cenobitic life. But these pre-requisites of the creed were condoned in their case, and these conditions became inapplicable. How they were to be taught and what were the initiatory vows binding on them? It may be supposed that they were bound to avoid the five gross sins—that is, they were not to kill, steal, drink, lie or commit adultery. But these had already been the part of the Hindu ethics. The fact is that in the early Buddhist system lay brethren were admitted only, as it were, by a side-door. They were accordingly not classed as Shravaks (hearers) but were simply Upasaks, or in the case of women—Upasikas. They could not be called disciples of Buddh, in the real sense of the word; but none the less they were classed and treated as Associate Members of the brotherhood.

And this *lacuna* in his system created a difficulty which he had to overcome, and did, for the time, overcome by declaring: "I would magnify, O brethren, the Supreme Attainment, either in a layman or in the recluse, whether he be a layman, O brethren, or a recluse; the man who has reached the Supreme Attainment shall overcome all the difficulties inherent therein, and shall win his way even to the excellent condition of Arhatship." Milinda put this very question to Nagasen. He asked that if the Path to the Supreme Attainment was alike open both to the layman and the monk why should one abjure the pleasures of life and

(1) *Tevijja Sutta*—47; 11 S.B.E. 187.

(2) *Priaran*—*Pri*—three;

and *Saran*—submission,

become a monk?—to which Nagsen replied, that while the Path was alike open to both, the monk completed it more quickly because of the greater merit of his renunciation⁽¹⁾.

In the earlier stages of development of the Mahayan school, a lay devotee was confronted with another difficulty. His way to Arhatship either lay through monk-hood or his destination upon the attainment of Arhatship was *Pari-Nirvan*, which laymen did not care to enter; for, what they were seeking was some kind of paradise, but not a paradise which they understood to be akin to extinction. However, these were later difficulties which did not confront the Teacher or his immediate disciples. The new religion was on trial and the gateway to it had to be made as wide as possible. Buddha did not insist, nor did the conversion imply that the convert should entirely break away from the old faith. His doctrine was then a purely ethical doctrine, open alike to all including Hindus, who did not cease to be Hindus because they had become converts to his faith. And this tolerance of other creeds was published by Ashoke in his twelfth edict: "The beloved of the gods honours all forms of religious faiths and no reviling of that of others." But it did not prevent Buddha from reviling the Brahman⁽²⁾ or the castes into which he cut up society. It was the essential ground-work for his system and he could not help it.

Apart from the lay adherents, the whole spirit of his teaching proceeded on the abandonment of all worldly ties, on the part of those who thirsted for salvation through the medium of his doctrine. They were his Bhikkhus who formed the Sangh, or the congregation of his Church. And it is to them that we must turn in order to understand the practical side of his teaching. They constituted the Order, the third force in his trinity to which technically all converts, but in reality all Bhikkhus had to conform. His Order was his church, his ecclesiastical organization for the practice and propagation of his doctrine. The brotherhood collectively possessed the power

(1) *Questions of King Milinda* IV—6-16; 36 S.B.E. 56-59.

(2) See "*The Brahman*" *Dhammapadhi* XXXI—383-423; 10 S.B.E. 90-96.

and wielded the authority of his church. So long as he was alive, he, of course, was its Head. But he had abstained from arranging for his successor. On the other hand, he had again and again made it clear, that the authority which he wielded had passed to the Sangh and that the Sangh as such was thenceforth his successor.

The Sangh in his time had developed into a powerful organization and influence. This he effected within a very short time by offering equality of status to all, high or low, rich or poor, men or women—a haven of refuge to all who felt oppressed by the troubles of life. Buddha began his ministry in a limited area. Before long his doctrine had attracted numerous adherents from all parts of the country and from every direction of the compass. His success was instantaneous and signal; but never in his wildest dreams could the founder of Buddhism have expected that within a few hundred years of his demise, his system would displace every religion in Asia and become a world-force for the spiritual advancement of mankind. What he then planned was, therefore, a plan intended for the immediate purpose of his comparatively small following and the natural expansion which he expected to remain limited to Aryavart—the adopted home of the Aryan race in India. But it had soon out-grown that limit even in his own life-time and the Sangh, the Master had to deal with, was “the Sangh of the four directions”⁽¹⁾. But nevertheless the expanded Sangh was still a single congregation and its members only brethren and nothing more.

In creating this confederation of monks, Buddha was making a striking departure from the institutions by which he must have been surrounded. He was, as it were, establishing a republic in the midst of monarchies. And their influence did not take long to give a similar turn to his Sangh.

But in Buddha's own time there was no gradation of monks—not even the gradation into “Chiefs” and “Elders,” which sprang up immediately after his death. They then became

⁽¹⁾ *Mahavagga*, VIII—27-5; 17 S.B.E. 245.

also known as Shravaks or "hearers," that is to say, those who had heard the word from the Master's own lips, *Sthavirs* or *Ayushmas* ("Those possessing life") and were all promoted to the rank of *Arhats*.

Buddh called all his disciples (other than lay-followers who do not count) Bhikshus, beggars or mendicants, corrupted into the Pali Bhikkhus, but they were also known as Shramans (Pali Samners, Samans) that is "workers" or *Nirgranthas* or "persons without ties."

As was to be expected, originally every supplicant for admission to the order was welcome and received, as a matter of course without any formal ceremony; the only form of admission which Buddh used was use of the word "*Ehi*" which meant "come" or "follow me." It was sufficient for conversion. There was no limit as to age. But he soon found that his Bhikkhu urchins started beggary with their fathers and the people began to complain of indiscriminate beggary. He thereupon made a rule that no person under the age of fifteen should, except if he be a cow-keeper⁽¹⁾, be eligible for monk-hood⁽²⁾ and he was not to be ordained without his parent's consent⁽³⁾, and in all cases persons guilty of any crime⁽⁴⁾, or below twenty⁽⁵⁾ were ineligible for ordination as Bhikkhus. Nor were eligible, persons guilty of murder⁽⁶⁾, robbery⁽⁷⁾ or one who has broken jail⁽⁸⁾ a debtor⁽⁹⁾ or one who has been punished by scourging⁽¹⁰⁾, is a eunuch⁽¹¹⁾, a slave or one afflicted with certain diseases or suffering from other disabilities referred to in the following catechism, which the supplicant had to answer:

Are you afflicted with the following diseases ?—leprosy, boils, dry leprosy, consumption, and fits ?

Are you a man ?

Are you a male ?

(1) *Mahavagga* I—51 ; 13 S.B.E. 204, 205.

(2) *Ib.* I—50 ; 13 S.B.E. 204.

(3) *Ib.* I—54 ; 13 S.B.E. 209, 210.

(4) *See ante*,—Introduction.

(5) *MV*—I.49-6.

(6) 1.64, 65, 66 ; 13 S.B.E. 219-221.

(7) *Ib.*—1.41 13 S.B.E. 196, 198.

(8) *Ib.*—1.42 ; 13 S.B.E. 197.

(9) *Ib.* 1.46 ; 13 S.B.E. 199.

(10) *Ib.* 1.44 ; 13 S.B.E. 198.

(11) *Ib.* 1.61 ; 13 S.B.E. 216.

Are you a free man ?

Have you no debts ?

Are you not in the royal service ?

Have your father and mother given their consent ?

Are you full twenty years old ?

Are your alms-bowl and robes in due state ?

What is your name ?

What is your Upadhya's name ? ⁽¹⁾

The initiatory ceremony called the *Prabhag*⁽²⁾ like the ceremony of entry into the order of full monk-hood called *Upasampad*—consisted in repeating thrice each line of the formula :—

I take my refuge in the Buddh.

I take my refuge in the Dharm (" The law ").

I take my refuge in the Sangh.

By the time this ceremony became necessary, the order had out-grown the personal attention of the Founder, who delegated his power of initiation and elevation to the Bhikkhu rank to the Bhikkhus already ordained⁽³⁾. Before the performance of either ceremony, that is, before the supplicant was presented for initiation, he had had to get his hair and beard cut off ; put on the yellow robes , adjust his upper robe so as to cover one shoulder ; he then saluted the feet of the ordaining Bhikkhu with his head, and to sit down squatting, and then raising his joined hands repeated the formula⁽⁴⁾. The ordaining Bhikkhu then said, " Come, O Bhikkhu, well-taught in the doctrine, lead a holy life for the sake of the complete extinction of suffering"⁽⁵⁾.

A Bhikkhu could ordinarily receive no more than two pupils for training⁽⁶⁾. The pupil must treat his preceptor (*Upadhya*) as his father and serve him loyally during his novi-

(1) *M.V.* 1-76 ; 13 *S.B.E.* 230.

(2) *Ib.* 1-12 ; 13 *S.B.E.* 114, 115.

(3) *Ib.* 1-12-2 ; 13 *S.B.E.* 116.

(4) *M.V.* 1-12-3 ; 13 *S.B.E.* 115.

(5) *Ib.* 1-25-4 ; 13 *S.B.E.* 150.

(6) *Ib.* 1-55 ; 13 *S.B.E.* 211.

tiate. He must sweep his cell, make his bed, dust and beat his carpet, air his beddings, prepare his bath, put away his alms-bowl and the robe. If he was contumacious or negligent or otherwise misbehaved⁽¹⁾, he could be turned out. The pupil was entitled to select his own preceptor⁽²⁾. The latter had to impart to him spiritual knowledge by exhortation and instruction, provide him with an alms-bowl and attend on him in sickness. No one could be ordained a Bhikkhu without the previous sanction of the Sangh or without his own application for ordination⁽³⁾. Bhikkhus were to be both learned as well as pious; and only those who had completed ten or more years of service were entitled to impart instruction.

Upon his ordination, the Bhikkhu became a regular member of the order, and subject to its superintendence. All questions affecting him or in relation to him, were decided by the Sangh. Between him and his Sangh there was no authority to control his action. Elaborate rules for the conduct of meetings of the Sangh were drawn up and subsequently added to or varied.

These detailed rules underwent material changes as the Sanghs became more autonomous and subject to a graded hierarchy. In foreign countries, as for example—in Tibet and China, they naturally followed a line of development adapted to the genius of the people.

As previously stated, the usual course of instruction for a novice is five years and that for a Bhikkhu ten years, if he wishes to attain to the degree of a teacher (*Upadhya*). This period is spent in the memorizing of the religious precepts and in their practice under the supervision of the Bhikkhus and the *Upadhyas* respectively. But the education continues, and those who aspire to the higher degree of Arhatship or to enter the charmed circle of *Bodhisatvas* have to show their proficiency by the acquisition of higher knowledge and the attainment of higher sanctity of which the Sangh is the sole

(1) *M.V.*—1.60; 13 *S.B.E.* 215.
(2) *Ib.*—1—25.7; 13 *S.B.E.* 154.

(3) *Ib.*—1.29.2; 13 *S.B.E.* 170, 171.

judge, except in countries where that authority has become vested in the dignitaries of the church. But these are details. The principles of Buddhism have to be mastered by all alike. Those principles are stated in the ascending scale of ethical importance to be discussed later.

All Bhikkhus had to conform to a strict disciplinary observance of the rules, such as the following :—The wearing of garments consisting of three lengths of orange-coloured rags. These were to be collected from the rubbish-heaps or the cemeteries but were later permitted to be obtained by begging or as gifts from the laity ; but cloth so obtained, if entire, had to be torn up into three pieces to destroy its marketable value and the rags sewn up. They are called *Trishivar*, comprising *Antarvasak*, *Uttarsang* and *Sanghati*. They were at one time dyed in cow-dung, but latterly in red ochre. It is the colour of the garments of ascetics of other persuasions, e.g., Hindu and Islam. The *Antarvasak* was a low shirt, reaching up to the loins to which it was fastened with a girdle. The *Uttarsang* covered the breast and shoulders and reached down up to the knees, while the *Sanghati* was a cloak and so called because it was folded and composite. The Bhikkhus' other possessions were an alms-bowl or pot, a girdle, a razor, a needle, a water-strainer and a staff. The brethren shaved each other once a fortnight. The rosary appears to have completed their equipment at a later stage.

It was considered a pious act for the lay-followers to present garments to the Sangh. The Sangh lived in the monasteries called *Sangharam* to which was attached a chapel called *Vihar*—a name which in the course of time began to be applied to the whole monastic establishment.

The Bhikkhus were to hold and possess no goods except the three cloths, a girdle, a begging-bowl, a water-strainer to prevent the swallowing of smaller life ; a razor and a needle for the mending of their cloths. They must live upon such food as was thrown into their bowls in their rounds from house to house, taking only what is voluntarily offered without ever asking for anything. The food so collected must be

eaten before noon, and no other meal taken, save in case of sickness. They must observe fasts on four prescribed days. They must halt at one place during the rains (*Vassa*), from full moon of *Asarh* (June—July) till the close of the rainy season, i.e., middle of October. They must refrain from a recumbent posture under all circumstances. and they must visit cremation-grounds for meditation on the corruption of the body.

Bhikkhus were to eat the cooked food offered; but if uncooked food was received, they were free to cook it. Meat-diet was permitted in case of sickness, even the use of raw flesh and of blood⁽¹⁾; on other occasions, any meat except the flesh of lions, tigers, hyenas, serpents, elephants and horses⁽²⁾.

Food that might be taken and that prohibited are all set out with metiaculous care; and so too, as regards garments, residence, medicine, and the rest.

The Bhikkhu had to confess to all his sins serious and trivial—those for which he might have to perform a penance or be let off with admonition and a warning. Meetings of the Sangh were formerly held twice a month on the sacred days of the full and new moon. The meetings were held of such members of the congregation as were present; but five was a quorum. This chapter met to receive confessions. At the commencement of the chapter, a brother elected to conduct the proceedings first proclaimed: "Let the reverend brethren announce their purity and I will rehearse the *patimoksh*."

The brethren exclaimed: "We all gladly give ear and do attend!" Then he repeated thrice the following general question: "Whosoever have incurred a fault let him declare it! If no fault has been incurred, it is meet to keep silence!" He then warned the members that if any one held silence, though he had incurred a fault, he is guilty of uttering a conscious lie. He again repeated thrice: "Are you pure in

(1) *M.F.* VI—10.2; 17 *S.B.E.* 49.

(2) *M.F.* VI—23; 17 *S.B.E.* 80.86.

this matter?" A second time do I question you, "Are you pure in this matter?" A third time do I question you, "Are you pure in this matter?"

If no one replied; he ended thus:—

"The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore, do they keep silence. Thus I understand.⁽¹⁾"

He then recited the rules of conduct and purity and the chapter then transacted other business and dispersed. If any brother made a confession of his offence, the Sangh prescribed the appropriate penalty or penance in accordance with the gravity of the offence. Trivial offenders were let off with a warning; others would be prescribed a penalty or deprived of the privilege of Association.

From these comparatively small divergences, there has grown up a system, which though called Buddhist, embraces within its ambit systems widely diverse and on essential points contradictory. Only a brief summary of these systems can be attempted here.

Buddhism in Tibet—The development of Buddhism in Tibet illustrates its evolution along the line into which the force of local beliefs and customs diverted it. Before the introduction of Buddhism, the religion of Tibet⁽²⁾ called 'Bhot' in the Sanskrit texts, was one of Nature and demon-worship. It was a kind of Shamanism called Bon.

It proceeded upon the view that Nature teemed with spirits, good and bad, and they influenced the whole course of Nature. They influenced man as much as the lower animals and controlled all their actions. Now as man was weak and ignorant and not conversant with their views and antics, it became necessary to call the aid of the Shamans or wizard-priests and exorcise them by magical practices. The Shamans laid claim to possess a special knowledge of them and were able to subdue storms, prevent pestilence and avert all calamities. They understood omens and could

(1) *Puti Mokkhu* 13 S.B.E. 1, 2.

(2) Called in *Sk. Bhotu* 1 *Bod*, *Bhot*, *Bot*.

predict the future by watching the flight of birds, examining the shoulder-blades of sheep and other devices which gave them timely warnings.

It was at this stage of their religious history that Buddhism penetrated Tibet. It readily welcomed and adopted it. But it did not take long for the Shamans to adapt it to their existing beliefs, the result being a form of Buddhism, which though nominally drawn both from the Mahayan and Hinayan systems of Indian Buddhism, was transformed into altogether a new system, in which the old magic became blended with Buddhism and the Shiv-worship and controlled by a hierarchy, of which the chief priests were called the Lamas and their chief the Avtar Lama or Dalai Lama⁽¹⁾ called by the Tibetans Ragyamthso Pinpochi, known to outsiders as the Supreme or Grand Lama.

The Tibetan Buddhism and the Chinese Buddhism present some analogy to the Mahayan and the Hinayan schools of Indian Buddhism. The Lamas exist in both countries; but, while in the one case there are dignitaries superior to the Lamas, Chinese Buddhism recognizes no superior rank beyond that of the Head Lama of the great monastery at Peking, to whom all Lamas in that country are subordinate. In Japan there are no Lamas; but as in Tibet, Buddhism was adapted to the existing beliefs; so it was in China. In the former an ethical system founded by Confucius became assimilated with Buddhism; while its off-shoot Shintoism in Japan became merged into the new religion upon its introduction into that Empire.

But the cardinal doctrine of the three countries is still Buddhism, but Buddhism interpreted and applied in their own way.

All alike accept Gautam Buddha as the supreme teacher of their religion. All agree that the being standing next to him is the Bodhisatv; and all agree in accepting the Bodhisatv as a being next only to Buddha; and following that school,

(1) In the Monogolian language *Dalai* means the "Ocean" Tibetan, *Ragyamthso*.

they take the number of Bodhisatvas to be unlimited; they assign them a place alongside of Maitreya in the Tushit heaven; but they equally recognize their earthly emanations or incarnations, and following the Mahayan method of selection, they have a way of their own in raising one to that degree. The successive stages in which a person may be promoted and finally attain that rank is characteristic of Tibetan Buddhism. In every monastery recruits are drawn from boys between the ages of seven and fifteen. These boy-pupils are called Bandi, Bante, or Bandya (¹). The Bandi is apprenticed to a monk who makes him promise to keep the five commandments, namely:—

- (1) Thou shalt not kill.
- (2) Thou shalt not steal.
- (3) Thou shalt not commit adultery.
- (4) Thou shalt not lie.
- (5) Thou shalt not drink spirituous drinks.

After the age of fifteen he is promoted to be the junior monk called Gethsul (Getzul). His hair is then cut off and he dons the monkish robe. He has now to observe one hundred and twelve rules. He attends on the full monk whom he assists in all functions except consecration and blessing.

After his twentieth year, that is five years after his novitiate—which is the stage last described, he is consecrated a full monk and becomes eligible for the discharge of sacerdotal duties. He is then bound by two hundred and fifty-three rules of discipline.

Out of these monks, the *superior Gelongs* or Kanposts are selected for their greater knowledge or superior sanctity. It is then that they are ordained Lamas.

Out of the Lamas, the heads of monasteries are selected. But that fact alone does not give them any higher degree, so far as the forms of consecration are concerned. But the heads of important monasteries are elevated to a still higher rank, being consecrated Avtar Lama—a rank bestowed on the founders

(1) *Sk. Vandyā* "fit to be saluted"—whom a the Bandi has to salute.
 a term more appropriate to monks to

of monasteries or one who has become still more conspicuous by his piety or learning. He then enters the Order of a Bodhisatv, but is the re-embodiment of an ordinary canonized saint, or a Bodhisatv of the lowest Order. Above him ranks the Khutuktu who is the re-incarnation of a higher Bodhisatv, really a deified saint and is usually one in charge of a still more important monastery. He even claims to be an incarnated Buddh.

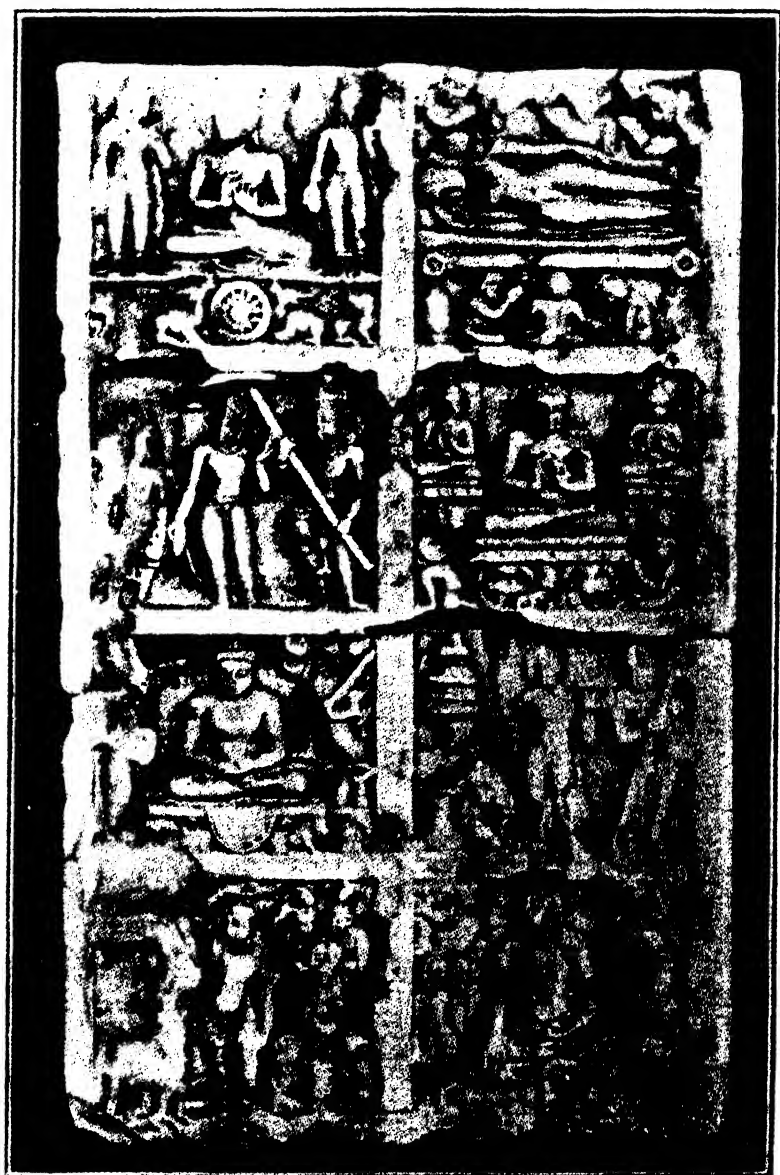
But higher still than him and in fact the highest in the monastic Order, stand two Lamas—called the Dalai Lama ⁽¹⁾ with his Tibetan title of Ragyamthso Pinpoche or “ocean jewel” and Tashi (Teshu) Lama, who bears the Tibetan title of Panchen Ripoche ⁽²⁾ which means “the great Pandit Jewel” who ranks next only to the Dalai Lama, because while the latter is in charge of the metropolitan monastery at Lhassa, the other is in charge of an equally great monastery at the second metropolis of Tashi Lunpo (Krasbi Lunpo)—a town about one hundred miles to the South West of Lhassa not very far from the Indian frontier. They are both held to be a continuous re-embodiment of Buddh or of his Bodhisatv; so that when they die, they re-appear, either after nine months or at most after the second or the third year, in children whose bodies they have occupied from conception.

The Dalai Lamas are held to be continuous re-incarnations of the Dhyani Bodhisatv Avalokiteshwar; while the Panchen Lamas similarly represent his father Dhyani Buddh Amitabha. These Buddhs being two out of the five Buddhs possible in the present age, of whom the earthly emanations are the above-named two.

Now since these Lamas become re-incarnated in children, it follows that mere children are sometimes elevated to the Grand Lamaship; in which case, the duties of their office are assigned to a Lama, who acts as his Regent—called Nomun-Khan or Nomin Khan (or No-min-han), while the boy Lama, even when grown up, if found unfit to govern, is supposed to lose himself in the sublime heights of meditation and receive divine

(1) In *Mong.* *Dalai* means the ocean.

(2) *Pan.* i.e. *Pandit*, *chen*—great, *Ripo*—the Jewel.



(9) Sarnath, Benares, Slab illustrating scenes from Buddha's life.

homage. On a vacancy occurring, these two great offices are now in the gift of China; and before the establishment of a Republic, they were nominees of the Emperor. But formerly it was ordinarily left to one of the two Grand Lamas to divine in what family the soul of his deceased colleague would take its re-birth.

But this was the usual, though not the only way of ascertaining the re-incarnation of the Buddh-Lama. His appearance might be forecasted by the sooth-sayers, after consulting the sacred books, or the departing Lama might before his decease, reveal in what family he would re-appear and occasionally the Buddh might proclaim himself,—as if a child two or three years old, might by some spiritual influence be impelled to exclaim. "I am a living Buddh: I am the chief Lama of that monastery."

But these are the two privileged and high-placed Buddhs. But Tibet teems with living Buddhs since the numerous monasteries dotting Tibet vie with one another in making them. Little boys are brought up and declared to be living Buddhs. And it may be occasionally that these Buddhs are the illegitimate children of the Avtar Lamas in charge of a distant monastery.

No account of Buddhism in Tibet and the further East would be complete without a reference to its ceremonials, which arouse alike the curiosity and contempt of the foreigner. The foremost among them is the Tibetan prayer-wheel. Buddh countenanced no prayer, but prescribed an hour for meditation. But the Tibetans had prayed for their deliverance from the evil spirit before they adopted Buddhism; and they retained the prayer, but altered its form as soon as they came under the spell of the new religion. The prayer consists in the repetition of a set formula of six-syllabled sentence "*Om Manipadme Hum*,"⁽¹⁾ which simply means "Hail (thou) jewel in the Lotus."

(1) "*Om*."—Etymology obscure but probably the abbreviation of "A-I-M" being the initial letters of the Vedic Triad—*Agni* (Fire), *Indra* (thunder) and *Mitra* (the Sun). It was originally an invocation, but in later years obtained a sanctity by usage, though the gods to which it referred had ceased to have their day. It is now used for "Hail" and is to possess magic

potency when repeated at the commencement of every prayer, rite or religious ceremony *Mani*—jewel, *Padm*—lotus, "*Hum*" a particle (originally an initiative sound) expressing remembrance or recollection to mark a pause or signify that the spell is done or has taken effect. The prayer then means. "Om the jewel in the Lotus! *Hum*."

It is a prayer addressed to Avalokiteshwar, the patron Bodhisatv of Tibet, and composed by him as *Padm-pani*, foreshadowing his future manifestation as the patron-saint of Tibet. It is the "Mani" or Jewel prayer, which cannot be repeated too often and the efficacy of which lies in its repetition. Consequently mechanical means have been devised to this end. The prayer is written or printed on paper-rolls and inscribed in cylinders which are turned by hand, the revolutions having the effect of multiplying the prayer-force passed on to the credit of the person who revolves the wheel or pays for it. These prayer-mills are installed everywhere. Other forms of the formula sometimes employed are "Om ! Vajrapani Hum," "Hail Vajrapani" ⁽¹⁾ or only—"Om Ha Hum" or mere monosyllabics such as "Ram" "Phat" "Hrim," "Rim," "Rim" and "Hris" which are all, it is stated, variations of the Hindu god Ramchandra, whom the Hindus similarly pray by ejaculating "Ram, Ram" counting it on a rosary. The Tibetans call these abbreviated prayers "Dharni."

In order to accumulate merit, the devout have taken to erecting votive offerings in the shape of prayer-walls on the road-side in which the prayers are engraved on slabs of stones let in, and varied by images of saints which, in order to acquire merit, the passers-by must pass on the left and follow the letters of the inscriptions. Prayer-flags with the prayers inscribed thereon are also hoisted on poles and they waft the prayers on the wind which waves them. These flags are similarly adorned with the pictures of sacred objects, such as the "flying horse," the Norbu gem ⁽²⁾ and the Phurbu which serve also to ward off evil spirits and neutralize the diseases inflicted by them. The flags dot all Tibetan villages and extend down to Darjeeling where the Bhutanese villagers hold them as charms or talismans against the malignant influences of evil spirits. The Buddhists in these parts also use the same rosaries as the Hindus, with one hundred and eight beads to count their prayers; only while the rosaries of the Hindus are made of beads made of the Sacred Basel or the Rudhraksh

(1) The Thunder-bolt handed Bodhisatv.

(2) A gem of the seven treasures.

berries, those of the Tibetans might be made of anything, including the bones of a Lama when they are specially prized. Such rosaries are used even in China and Japan, only they are arranged in double strings with larger beads and relics attached as central pendants.

But with all this the Buddhist does not forget his Master's exhortation to his Sangh to get together and meditate. Accordingly, the Tibetans meet thrice a day, morning, noon and evening, in the public squares and kneel down and chant their prayers.

Buddhism in China.—Turning next to China, it has been stated that the Buddhist hierarchy of China is not graded. We have first the Ho-Shang or the indigenous Chinese monks, and secondly the Lamas who are supported by the State and whose chief—the Head Lama, is in charge of the metropolitan monastery.

The Teaching of Confucius.—Before the conversion of China to Buddhism, its principal religions were Taoism and Confucianism ⁽¹⁾. But the systems of the latter two teachers, who were contemporaries, were more ethical than religious, so that when Buddhism penetrated the land, it became easily assimilated with the existing system and then conjointly in fusion, or separately in unison, have dominated its religious life. In order to understand the influence of Buddhism and the place it took and has since occupied in the one time "Celestial Empire", we have to examine its earlier history. As previously stated, Buddhism did not get into China till the first century before the Christian era. Confucius (550-478 B.C.) was born about 550-B.C. and was, therefore, a contemporary of Gautam Buddh. At his birth, China, though nominally under the sway of the decadent Chow dynasty, which had ruled over it for a thousand years (1,122-256 B.C.), was really divided into several states,—large and small, numbering about one hundred and fifty, who paid only nominal allegiance to the king, and were mostly occupied in waging wars upon one another. As Confucius had

⁽¹⁾ Confucius is merely the Latinized form of Kung Futsze—meaning "the philosopher" or "Master Kung", (Kung was the clan name of Confucius).

himself written in the Annals of Lu, his native State: "In those days there was nothing in China, and every prince did what was right in his own eyes." Confucius appeared at this crisis in the nation's history. "The world had fallen into decay, and the right principles had disappeared. Perverse courses and oppressive deeds were waxing rife. Ministers murdered their rulers, and sons, their fathers. Confucius was frightened by what he saw and he undertook the work of reformation." Confucius came of a royal line, but his father who was over seventy when he was born, died when he was only three years old, and young Confucius had to face poverty and want. But he was from early age given to religious life and when he was only five or six, people took notice of his fondness for playing with his companions at setting out sacrifices, and at postures of ceremony. He married at nineteen and then took service as a store-keeper, "because of his poverty. When twenty two he started a school in which two scions of a wealthy family of his Native-town—Lu, joined as pupils. With the help of the Marquis of the state, Confucius and his two pupils proceeded to the capital of the kingdom where he made the acquaintance of Lao-tsze, the founder of Taoism who greatly impressed him, though he himself did not impress the transcendental dreamer. Subsequently in his 52nd year Confucius was appointed a Magistrate an office in which he discharged his duties with such ability that promotions came to him in succession.

But disgusted with the profligacy of his master, he left him in his 56th year and took to a wandering life in the course of which he met recluses who advised him to join them which he refused to do, adding: "It is impossible to withdraw from the world, and associate with birds and beasts that have no affinity with us. With whom should I associate but with suffering men? The disorder that prevails requires my efforts. If right principle ruled through the kingdom, there would be no necessity for me to change its state." But the ruler of the State would not re-employ him—and bowed by disappointment, he took to his bed and after seven days died. He owes his fame not to his literary writings which are ephemeral or philosophic

speculations which are enigmatic, but to the combined adulation and labours of his disciples, who collected his sayings and followed his teachings and moral precepts on the formation of individual character and the manner in which one's obligations to the society should be discharged.

His golden rule which he had deduced from the study of man's mental constitution was: "Don't do to others what you don't like others to do to you." He popularized an old apothegm ascribed to an ancient king and hero, who flourished 1,200 years before he was born and who had said: "Man is born good, because he is born with a moral sense, it is the duty of the sovereign to use it to ensure tranquillity in his state." Confucius distinguished two main elements in this fund of nature's goodness: (1) charity of heart, resulting in an out-flow of love towards our fellow-men, and (2) the principle of righteousness or conscience which should serve to regulate our conduct. To him Education meant the assiduous cultivation of these two natural instincts. As to the duty of the sovereign, he declared that if the ruler is personally upright, his subjects will do their duty unbidden; if he is not upright, they will not obey, whatever his bidding. In the multiplication of laws and restrictions Confucius had little faith. "People despotically governed and kept in order by punishments may avoid infraction of the law, but they will lose their moral sense. People virtually governed and kept in order by the inner law of self-control, will retain their moral sense, and moreover, become good."

In this way Confucius imparted his instruction. He drew his inspiration from the treasures of old, but he threw upon them a flood of new light gained by his varied knowledge and versatile experience.

He opined and passed current through his pupils his ethical views in the form of short and pithy epigrams. His religious views were similarly expressed. In his earlier writings he frequently referred to the "Supreme Beings," but in his later life his references were to an impersonal force and he advised men

not to occupy themselves with anything but themselves. But in China religion was then, as it is indeed now, under State control and everybody had to offer services to the spirits of the departed, which Confucius did, but when questioned what constituted wisdom—he added “To give one’s self earnestly to the duties due to men, and while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them—that may be called wisdom.” When asked whether he did not believe in the service of the departed ancestors, he said—“While you cannot serve men, how can you serve spirits.” “Ceremonies forsooth,” he once exclaimed, “can ceremonies be reduced to a mere matter of silken robes and jaded ornaments?” “Music forsooth! Can music be reduced to a mere matter of bells and drums?” In this he was insisting on sincerity as more essential to the religion than the mere observance of its forms.

His views on future life were equally ambiguous. While you do not know life, what can you know about death? The fact is Confucius was truly sceptical of a future life, and in this he voiced the opinions of a generation of thinkers of his country who had preceded him. His view on morality was purely utilitarian. Honesty was to him the best policy; because it was best for the man who was honest, and if he does not receive the reward, it will fall to his descendants. He had faith in man and to him man and his society were his sole concern. He did not care to gaze beyond the grave and if, perchance, he attempted it, he saw nothing. The following sayings of his, will shew the practical wisdom which he imparted to his disciples. Contrasting the higher and the lower type of man, he said: “The nobler sort of man is calm and serene; the inferior man is constantly agitated and worried. The nobler sort of man is proficient in the knowledge of his duty; the inferior man is proficient only in money-making. The nobler sort of man is accommodating, but not obsequious; the inferior man is obsequious, but not accommodating. The nobler sort of man is dignified, but not proud; the inferior man is proud, but not dignified.”

Confucius never founded any religious system. He was a teacher of morals,—not even a teacher of religion, though at

one period of his life, he permitted himself to believe in the revelation of his teachings. But in later life he grew wiser ; and confined himself to the imparting of practical wisdom in terse and pithy aphorisms. The essence of his teachings sprang from the eternal principles of human nature. Filial piety, conscientiousness and charity, forbearance towards others and a saving sense of moderation in all things—these are virtues which make no religion, though they are the eternal principles of all religions. And in this sense Confucius was a religious teacher, but in no other.

Confucian precepts were addressed to the learned, and remained the heritage of the learned. The populace were never moved by his teachings.

Taoism.—The second religion which influenced the religious life of China before its conversion to Buddhism, the religion called Taoism, is said to have been founded by Lao-tsze (609-4 B.C.). "Tao" means "The way" and Taoism points the way to virtuous life. Lao-tsze—(his surname was Li and his name Wih) was born in or about 604 B.C. in a hamlet. He was appointed a historiographer at the Court of Chan in charge of the royal library which gave him a chance to make himself acquainted with the history and philosophy of his country. He resided at the capital of Chan ; but after a long time, seeing the decay of the dynasty, he composed the celebrated treatise called *Tao Teh King* and then disappeared from the city. The treatise, which embodies his views, captured the imagination of the people ; and its principles, which were purely ethical, gave rise to the cult of Taoism which became the religion of China. The main theme of Lao-tsze's teaching on the existence of God was agnostic. "Tao" he wrote "is like the emptiness of a vessel and the use of it, we may say, must be free from all self-sufficiency. How deep and mysterious it is, as if it were, the author of all things. We should make our sharpness blunt, and unravel the complications of things ; we should hamper our brightness, and assimilate ourselves to the obscurity caused by dust. How still and clear is Tao, a phantasm with the semblance of per-

manence! I do not know whose son it is. It might appear to have been before God."

In the last sentence of his treatise he writes. "It is the Tao—the way—of Heaven to benefit and not injure; it is the Tao—the way—to do and not strive." The Heaven he speaks of, he explains to be merely one's notion of it. He says, "We must not forget that this heaven is inferior and subsequent to the mysterious Tao, and was in fact produced by it." Concerning man, the Tao teaches the simplicity of spontaneity of action, without motive, free from all selfish purpose, resting in nothing but its own accomplishment. This is found in the phenomena of the natural world.

"All things," he says, "spring up without a word spoken, and grow without a claim for their production. They go through their processes without any display of pride in them, and the results are realized without any assumption of ownership. It is owing to the absence of such assumption that the results and their processes do not disappear."

To him, a government conducted on the same principle would be an ideal government. "A government conducted by sages would free the hearts of the people from inordinate desires, fill their bellies, keep their ambitions feeble and strengthen their bones. They would constantly keep the people without knowledge and free from desires; and where there were those who had knowledge, they would have them so that they would not dare to put it in practice." The same rules equally apply to individual action. He must act "as a little child," spontaneously and "without striving or crying" he says that he cannot say enough on the practice of humility and "not presuming to take precedence in the world:" added to which, he prized gentle compassion and economy. "It is the way of the Tao not to act from any personal motive, to conduct affairs without feeling the trouble of them, to taste without being aware of the flavour, to account the great, to recompense injury with the kindness". This last—the return of good for evil struck a higher chord in social ethics and was the subject of discussion between him and Confucius. He condemns the practice of war,

would probably abolish capital punishment, but otherwise he had no sympathy with the progress of society or with the culture and arts of life. On the other hand, he would take society back to its primeval simplicity. "In a small state with a few inhabitants, I would so order it that the people, though supplied with all kinds of implements, would not care to use them; I would give them cause to look on death as the most grievous thing, while yet they would not go away to a distance to escape from it. Though they had boats and carriages, they should have no occasion to ride in them. Though they had buff-coats and sharp weapons they should not don or use them. I would make them return to the use of knotted cords (instead of written characters). They should think their coarse food sweet, their plain clothing beautiful, their poor houses, places of rest, and their common simple ways, sources of enjoyment. There should be a neighbouring state within sight, and the sound of the fowls and dogs should be heard from it to us without interruption, but I would make the people to old age, even to death, have no intercourse with it." Much of what the Tao contains is in the same strain. Its main purpose is the insistence on simplicity and spontaneity.

Taoism was never intended to be a religion. It never became one, till long after the introduction of Buddhism, and then it deteriorated into a polytheism comprising "celestial gods", "great gods" and "divine rulers" to which was added the wildest superstition, magic, alchemy, geomancy and spiritualism. That this was its tendency appears from the course it took in the third century B.C. when Taoism had already become associated with a search for the fabled islands of the eastern sea, where the herb of immortality might be gathered.

It is thus clear that while China had both Confucianism and Taoism, neither has as yet been really embodied in any religious institution,—a form which they took only with the establishment of Buddhism.

The question as to what extent Buddhism submitted to the tenets and usages of the indigenous institutions, is a question of detail which cannot be entered into here. But one thing is

certain. So far as religion is concerned, Buddhism found in China virgin soil for the growth of its own doctrines. The religious doctrines of the two contemporaries of Buddha did not differ materially from his own; and so far as they did, they became easily dovetailed into the newer system. The Chinese had as yet evolved no theory of spiritual life and life's final destiny. Buddhism supplied this gap and up to the present, it remains the only system to which the Chinese nation acknowledge their adherence. The Chinese Buddhism has been materially influenced by the Tibetan, where tenets have been amplified in a voluminous literature and its practice thrown into a form of complexity, which through the outer-growth of the Mahayan school, have acquired an individuality which is nothing else if it is not sectarian.

But the cardinal teachings of Buddha are still the main pivot of both the Tibetan and Chinese systems, though it is to a large extent coloured by the innate superstition of the people.

With the establishment of Buddhism in China, a stream of pilgrims began to flow towards India of whom only two have left a record of their travels. In 290 A.D. Chu Si-hing visited Khotan; a few years later another pilgrim named Fa-Ling visited India, while judging from the Chinese inscriptions discovered at Buddha Gaya on stone-pillars of the names of benefactors, several parties of pilgrims appear to have visited that place from time to time, though their real names cannot be now discovered; since in accordance with an ancient practice, they used to discard them at the time of leaving their homes and assume the title of Shakyaputra. Thus Kung who visited India in 400 A.D. changed his name to Fa-hian to which he added the title of Shih or the Shakyaputra. He has left a record of his travels. (1) Another pilgrim Sung Yun visited India in 515 A.D. and the record of his travels is also extant. (2)

The third pilgrim of whom we have a written record is Hiuen Tsiang, whose memoirs are both voluminous and extensive. (3)

(1) *Buddhist Records, Introduction*
I. XXIII-LXXXIII-CVIII

(2) *Ib.*, LXXXIV—the memoirs of

both these pilgrims are short and occupy only a few pages.

(3) *Western Records* Vols. I and II.

They record his impressions of the country visited by him and while the previous pilgrims spent only a short time in India, Hiuen Tsiang's travels through the Holy land occupied him about sixteen years (629-645 A.D.), in the course of which he had collected a quantity of relics and a large number of books which were translated into Chinese, of which seventy-five are included in the collection of the Chinese Tripitak.

Buddhism in Japan.—Turning next to Japan, another Buddhist country, the religion, which Buddhism partially displaced and with which it became partially assimilated, was Shintoism. But Shintoism was never a religion and it contained no moral code. Shinto means literally "the way of the gods",—the gods being no others than deified heroes of whom the visible embodiment on earth is the *Mikado*, represented to be the direct descendant and actual representative of the sun-goddess, whose commands are, therefore, in the nature of divine ordinance, which it is the duty of the Japanese to implicitly and reverentially obey. The system admitted of the exaltation of renowned warriors and of persons distinguished in other fields as demi-gods. The introduction of Buddhism from Korea occurred in the year 552 A.D. and by the beginning of the ninth century, it became amalgamated with Shintoism, whose gods and demi-gods were then taken to be nothing more than transmigrations of the Buddhist Bodhisatvas. Thus the fusion of the two religions and their reconciliation is ascribed to the priest Kukai (now known as Koho Daishi) who propounded that doctrine in his system called the *Riobu Shinto*. Local sentiment being thus gratified, the expansion of Buddhism encountered no further obstacle; and it had long been the State religion of Japan which was again formally declared by the famous rescript of the 1st January 1874. All State-grants to the Shinto temples and shrines were then withdrawn, though a few of them still linger, being maintained by private charity.

The religious organization of Japan is based on the *Chinese* model. There is no supreme spiritual authority at the head of the Buddhist Church, each monastery is in independent charge of its own elected or selected Head.

Expediency and policy alike have popularized similar organizations in the southern countries which are moreover supported there by the orthodox canon to which they hold themselves as subject.

Burma.—The southern Buddhistic countries, such as Siam, Burma and Ceylon being inheritors of the Hinyan system, still possess a purer form of Buddhism, though in those countries too, the form of religion prevalent before the introduction of Buddhism was the demon and the Nag-worship. The Nagas were a class of serpent-demons with human faces and the lower extremities of a serpent, who lived in Patal or the nether regions and these became easily assimilated to the Buddhistic cosmogony, by themselves becoming the worshippers of Buddha. So, one of them Mucilind is said to have sheltered Buddha when he was overtaken by a storm. In all the three countries, the doctrines of the Hinyan school are accepted. There are monks, but with no recognized hierarchy, though there is a presiding Head in charge of each monastery; but there is no supreme authority like the Dalai Lama in Tibet or the Archbishop of the Christian system. The monks in Ceylon employ their time in chanting the *Tripitaks* with its commentary the *Arthkatha* and meet four times a month to make confessions, employing their spare time in fasting, praying and in teaching the laity. They have boy-pupils, novices and full monks and their admission ceremonies are those prescribed in the *Mahavagga*. In Burma the images of Buddha are installed in their temples, called the Pagodas; but they are revered, not worshipped.

When Ashoke sent his missionary mission to Burma, the only religion it had—was that known as Shamanism which, as elsewhere, comprised the worship of evil spirits called *nats* who had a kingdom of their own to torment mankind. They and their King Thakia Min had accordingly to be propitiated by votive offerings made through the priests who were their intermediaries. These *nats* sometimes possessed women at festivals held in their honour. When Buddhism became established, the *nats* receded into the back-ground, but did not

wholly disappear and their King was assigned a place akin to that of the God Indra in the Hindu pantheon. Buddhism had to be content with a similar reception elsewhere. Indeed, it has been well observed, "An advanced religion, when first given to a people, never finds in their minds a clean slate to write upon. The heritage of many generations is not completely blotted out even in its leaders by an intellectual assent to new ideas, and the masses of the people only follow far behind their leaders, combining a little and little more of the new religion with the old.

"Thus no advanced religion is quite the same as it is expounded by its teachers, and as it is regarded by the masses of their followers; and the existence of many non-Buddhist beliefs and practices amongst the Burmese Buddhists would not be a denial of their claim to be Buddhists." ⁽¹⁾ As such, the Burman while accepting the new light, did not wholly abandon the old—the malevolent influence of which he felt all the greater need for propitiating, because it insured his reception of the new creed without disturbance from the forces of evil. The *nats* became thus relegated to the back-wood of wilder Burma and, in other places, to just that consideration which they could exact during the prevalence of a pestilence—smallpox or cholera. Elsewhere the bulk of the people support the numerous monasteries with their attached schools and Pagodas ⁽²⁾ which keep Buddhism continuously before the eyes of the people.

The monks preach to the people and the people listen to them, and as they grow older they turn to meditation and begin to seek the only way to Nirvan. The Buddhism of Burma is that of the Hinyan school, materially modified by the Mahayan practice and extends to the adjoining independent kingdom of Siam where the monasteries, called *wats* ⁽³⁾ are

⁽¹⁾ S. G. Grantham's *Burma census Report Ch. IV extracted in (1921) India census Vol. I. Pt. I. App. V. P. XVI.*

⁽²⁾ "Buddhist Temples in Burma." corrupted form Pali *Ḍaḡa* (Sk. *Dhātu*—*gurb* i. e. "Receptacle of the sacred

elements; or relics of the body). There are the largest pagodas in Burma at Pegu (332 ft. high) Rangoon (the Shwe Dagon pagoda) 328 ft and at Aroken which is the oldest.

⁽³⁾ Sk. *Val*.—an enclosure, court.

built on the banks of rivers or canals. They contain one or more Vihans⁽¹⁾ or places for the images of Buddha and his disciples.

As in Burma, every male considers it his duty to spend some time, at least a couple of months, in a monastery,—which he generally does at the age of twenty. As in Burma and Ceylon, the food collected by begging is no longer eaten, and as there, the monks act as teachers; but here they also act as doctors, though their cure is confined to charms and faith-healing rather than the administration of medicines. Like the *nats* of Burma, Siam has also its spirit population of *Phis* who include Indian deities and *Prets*,⁽²⁾ though the majority comprise ghosts and spirits to whom shrines are dedicated.

Java.—Java and the Malay Archipelago had been colonized by Indians before they came under the influence of Buddhism. The name Java is itself said to be a Sanskrit word, derived from *Yava* which means “barley”. It is mentioned in the *Ramayan*.⁽³⁾ In 418 A.D. the Buddhist pilgrim returned to China *via* Java which he described as in the hands of the heretics and the Brahmans, “but the law of Buddha hardly deserves mentioning.”⁽⁴⁾ The Indian Kings ruled Java at the dawn of the Christian era and travellers at the present day are struck by the relics of Hindu civilization and culture which have left their vestiges on the names, architecture and social institutions of the country. Java was converted to the Mahayan sect of Buddhism by the disciples of Vasubandhu (360 A.D.) in the fifth century.⁽⁵⁾

Ceylon.—The extension of Buddhism to the island of Ceylon is generally ascribed to Mahendra’s mission, despatched by Ashoke; but the Sinhalese tradition ascribes the conversion of the island to the expedition of Vijay, who with seven hundred followers settled in the island about the time of Buddha’s death. There is, of course, a great deal of mythical exaggeration about the tradition. For instance, in order to

(1) Corr. from Vihar.

(2) *Pret* —spirit, ghost.

(3) 1V.40-30

(4) Ch. XI; *Legge* p. 113;

(5) *Paranath* Ch. 36.

explain why Ceylon is called Sinhal, Vijay is described as the grand-son of an Indian princess who lived with a lion. The language of the island in its earliest known form was a dialect of Pali and still resembles the Marathi Prakrit of western India.

The three great repositories of the Sinhalese tradition are the *Dipvans*, (362-430 A.D.) the *Mahavans* and Buddh ghosh's *Samant-Pasadika*—All three are historical memoirs ; of which *Dipvans* is the earliest and *Mahavans* is an enlarged edition in which the materials of the *Dipvans* were re-arranged and ecclesiastical and popular legends added. It was continued by later writers and the narrative brought down to 1780 A.D. Buddh ghosh wrote a commentary on the *Mahavans* about 100-150 A.D. All the three ascribe the conversion of Ceylon to the initiative of Moggaliputta who presided at the first council at Pataliputra. But the Ashoke edicts mention the despatch of a mission by him. This mission was led by Mahendra, his son or brother—probably a near relation. He first preached to and converted King Davanampiya Tissa (died 207 B.C.) who took up the cause of Buddhism in Ceylon as earnestly as Ashoke was doing in India. He despatched two missions to collect relics and the second mission was despatched to bring a branch of the Bo tree which is said to have been planted in the Meghvan garden with much ceremony and which still exists and is visited by pilgrims from Burma and Siam. A large monastery grew up in its vicinity and it became the citadel of Sinhalese Buddhism. But it soon found a formidable rival in another monastery erected at Abhyagiri and conflicts between the two in later years became notorious.

A few years after the death of Tissa, the kingdom passed (in 177 B.C.) to the Tamil Kings from India who were not Buddhists. They, however, supported the Church, but in course of time a descendant of Tissa—named Dutthagamani—wrested his kingdom from the hands of the Tamils and made Buddhism once more his State-religion and endowed the island with some of its most magnificent monasteries.

Ceylon prides itself on its possession of some invaluable relics of Buddha including his tooth two inches long, which is treasured in a special temple, known as the Dalad Maligawa (or the sacred eye-tooth) at Kandy. It is worshipped even by the Hindus of Ceylon. Its genuineness is guaranteed by its history ⁽¹⁾ and the tradition that Buddha was twenty cubits ⁽²⁾ high. But it is not the only relic—his dress, his begging-bowl and other relics are equally prized and as devoutly worshipped alongside of the idols of Vishnu and other gods who are curiously installed in the same temple, though they are stated to be only venerated and not worshipped.

Position of Women.—The position of women in Buddhism marks a revolution in the social ethics of a people who had consigned them to perpetual dependence: "Their fathers protect them in childhood, their husbands protect them in youth, their sons protect them in age: a woman is never fit for independence." ⁽³⁾ Such is the behest of Manu—which follows usage. It is true, women had in spite of their dependence, occupied positions of responsibility in the Vedic age, but it was not because of, but in spite of, their womanhood. The Hindu religion gave them protection and classed them with children and imbeciles for that purpose. Buddha gave them a position of equality with men. They were admitted to his order and were raised to monk-hood and several of them rose to be accredited teachers of the law. Buddha made no distinction between women, high or low, virtuous or degraded. And some of his most devout and devoted followers belonged to that sex. They ministered to the wants of the sick Bhikkhus and there is an instance on record when one of them—Suppiya—a lay devotee cut a piece of her own thigh to provide a sick Bhikkhu with broth which he had asked for and she had promised. ⁽⁴⁾ Another woman disciple of his—Vishakha, described as "learned, expert and wise," had made an endowment for the maintenance of the Bhikkhus and Buddha thanked her in these words: "Whatsoever woman,

(1) *Duthvans* (History of the tooth) (310 A.D.)

(2) *Cubit*—18 inches.

(3) *Manu* IX—3; (*Jones Tr.*) 194; to the same effect *Ib* V. 148 p. 113.

(4) *M. V.* VI. 22; 17 S.B.E. 78-84.

upright in life, a disciple of the Happy One gives, glad at heart and overcoming avarice, both food and drink—a gift heavenly, destructive of sorrow, productive of bliss—a heavenly life does she attain, entering upon the path that is free from corruption and impurity.”⁽¹⁾ Of women generally he declared: “There is no meanness in women; and women cannot be owned nor⁽²⁾ treated as chattels.”

On one occasion the Master had sent Anand to a village. He passed by a well where he saw Prakriti, a girl of the Matang caste, whom he asked for a drink. Prakriti told him that she was of low caste, and could not give him the drink, to which Anand replied: “I ask not for caste, but for water,” which the Matang girl gave him. Anand thanked her and then resumed his journey; but the girl followed him at a distance. Having heard that he was Gautam’s disciple, she went up to him and said: “O Lord! help me, and let me live in the place where Anand, thy disciple, dwells, for I love him.” The Blessed One, understood the emotions of her heart, and spoke to her: “Prakriti, thy heart is full of love, but you do not understand your own sentiments. It is not Anand whom you love, but his kindness. Receive then the kindness you have seen him practise unto you, and in the humility of your station practise it unto others. Verily, there is great merit in the generosity of a King when he is kind to a slave; but there is a greater merit in the slave when ignoring the wrongs which he suffers, he cherishes kindness and good-will to all mankind. He will cease to hate his oppressors and even when powerless to resist their usurpation, will with compassion pity their arrogance and supercilious demeanour.”

“Blessed are thou Prakriti, for thou art a Matang, you will be a model for noble men and noble women. You are of low caste, but Brahmans will learn a lesson from you. Swerve not from the path of justice and righteousness and you will outshine the royal glory of queens on the throne.”

(1) *M. V.* VIII—15-14; 17 *S.B.E.* 225.

(2) *Digha Nikay*, 4 *S.B.E.* 192.

He had admitted his own step-mother and his wife to the Order. He is, of course, careful to preserve the morals of his monks by keeping them separate from the nuns, and it is in this connection that some passages occur in his writings, exhorting his disciples to shun their gaze, not to speak to them, and keep aloof from them. "Lust be clouds a man's heart, when it is confused with woman's beauty, and the mind is dazed. Better far with red-hot irons bore out both your eyes, than encourage in yourself sensual thoughts, or look upon a woman's form with lustful desires. Better fall into the fierce tiger's mouth, or under the sharp knife of the executioner, than dwell with a woman and excite in yourself lustful thoughts."

All accounts agree that Buddha was averse to throwing open his Order to women and that the credit of receiving that admission must go to Anand; for it was due to his entreaties to admit Prajapatni Gautami, step-and-the-foster-mother of Buddha to the order, that Buddha reluctantly yielded to admit women to a subordinate Order on the following eight conditions: (1) they must thoroughly understand their duties; (2) they must and ought every half-month beg a Bhikkha; (3) they shall not pass the *Vassa* season in a place where there are no Bhikkhus; (4) they must live sufficiently separated from them so as not to see and hear or fear their proximity; (5) they must by words or by reviving recollections not damage the morals of a Bhikkhu; (6) they shall not be wrathful, abusive, or do anything sinful; (7) they shall confess their sins to a Bhikkhu every fortnight; (8) they, though ordained to live since a hundred years, shall always revere and rise, before a Bhikkhu even if he be recently ordained, bow to him and honour him. (1) Gautami accepted these conditions and she and other women including Buddha's own wife, Yashodhara, were admitted to the Order.

It has been said that Buddha was a born misogamist and was opposed to the admission of women into his Order, and when at last he yielded to the solicitations of Anand and his

(1) *Tibetan Legends*, 61-62.

other disciples, he plainly told them that their admission had shortened the longevity of his Dharma from 1,000 to 500 years and that while he admitted women to be nuns, he placed them under the direction of the monks, because he dared not trust them with greater autonomy. That all these conclusions are borne out by several of his recorded references admit of no doubt; but in this respect a certain measure of scepticism may not be wholly unjustifiable; the more so, if we cannot readily reconcile his reported utterances with his acts. That women were to him an object of suspicion is proved by the fact that he had placed their Order in subordination to men.

But if Buddha were the misogynist he is held to be, one thing is clear that he would never have yielded to the pressure of his disciples in permitting their ordinance; on the other hand, the fact that from the very inception of his career as the Enlightened Teacher, he welcomed them, both high and low, at least as lay followers to his Order, shows that his hesitation, if any, could not have been influenced by his sexual aversion, but was more likely the outcome of practical expediency. Women in his time were even less educated than they are now. He had planned for his disciples a life of austere celibacy, and he knew too well the lure of women.

But in taking the courageous course he did, in eliminating the distinction of sex from his Order, he wrought an innovation, which must have been as welcome to the women as it was the logical deduction of his doctrine which could not deny to one sex the solace of religion, nor limit its beatitude only to men. But while it is so, there is abundant circumstantial evidence to show that neither Buddha nor his disciples were at first willing to receive women into their Order; and when Buddha yielded, it was not because of his logic but because of Anand's persuasion. Nor was Anand a logical doctrinaire or a sentimental feminist. In persuading the master to obliterate the consideration of sex, he was only anxious for the admission of his own relations,

But, of course, it would have been too invidious to have admitted a few relations and barred the door against the rest. The relaxation had, therefore, to be more general. But it did not please the patriarchs like Kashyap who had harboured a deep grudge against Anand, because of his advocacy. And when the Master died and the first council was convened, Kashyap took exception to Anand's admission thereto; and when Anand pleaded for forgiveness, Kashyap gave vent to his long pent-up feelings on the subject: "How comes it," he asked, "that when the Blessed One said that women were as dangerous as snakes and that it would be wrong to admit them into the Order, thou didst ask that they might be allowed to enter it?" "Bear with me a while, Kashyap" replied Anand, "I thought of all that Maha Prajapati Gautami had endured and how it was she who had nursed the Blessed One, when his mother died. I only asked that women who are my relatives and friends might enter the Order. 'Twas surely no wonder! no subject of shame"(¹)! But in spite of this apology the fact remains that Buddhism was directly responsible for the uplift of womanhood in the East.

As Mr. W. S. Lilly, the well-known Catholic author wrote, "Buddhism has raised woman to an elevation never before attained by her in the Oriental world."(²) And Sir James Scott writing of the Burmanwoman, points out that "there is no difference between man and woman, but that which has been established by superiority of virtue; and hence it is that the state of woman amongst Buddhists is so very much higher than it is amongst the Oriental people who do not hold the faith. The Burmese woman enjoys many rights which her European sister is now clamouring for(³)."

Whatever mystery may envelop the teachings of Buddh, no mystery shrouds their far-reaching effects upon

(1) *Tibetan Legends*, 152.

(2) *Many Mansions*: 209.

(3) *The Burman: His Life and Notions*.

133. But this was written before the recent legislation which has equalized the status of women in England.

the civilization, art, and culture of ancient India. Civilization has been defined as the art of living together. As such, Buddhism was the first to break down the impenetrable barriers which had divided man from man. His system admitted of no caste and no degree--no social disability and no predestined adhesion to the self-centred interest. His larger view of humanity and its social obligations had widened the outlook of man, and it may be doubted if the full effect of his ethics has yet been realized. The historian who has recorded the world-wide activity of Ashoke records a fact, but does not go deeper into the main-spring of his actions.





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